

THE BLACK PANTHER

Black Community News Service

25
cents



VOL. III, NO. 9

SATURDAY, JUNE 21, 1969

PUBLISHED
WEEKLY

THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

MINISTRY OF INFORMATION
BOX 2967, CUSTOM HOUSE
SAN FRANCISCO, CA 94126

REAGAN'S FASCIST PIGS VAMP ON SACRAMENTO HQ



FASCIST PIGS MUST WITHDRAW
THEIR TROOPS FROM OUR COMMUNITIES
OR FACE THE WRATH OF THE ARMED PEOPLE

ABOUT CHARLES R. GARRY: WESLEY ROBERT WELLS

Charles R. Garry is loved and respected by millions—he is also hated with vehemence, because as a barrister he is a courageous, militant, uncompromising champion of human and legal rights of the under-dog regardless of race, color or creed. He unquestionably is our Nation's twentieth century most outstanding protector of legal rights for all. I think we all agree that Attorney Garry has no fear, and is most definitely guided by the dictates of his own conscience, the U. S. Constitution being his main guideline.

I once heard a man on death row

at San Quentin state, "should I die thru the always courageous and untiring efforts of Charles Garry, I shall not have died in vain." I candidly believe this is the overwhelming consensus of every Garry client.

In view of what has thus far been written, I wish to add import to the same by declaring myself. I am an inmate, Wesley Robert Wells, of San Quentin. I have been incarcerated since 1942. I was tried, convicted and sentenced to death in 1947, for throwing and hitting a prison guard with a cuspidor. I remained on death row from 1947 until 1954,

suffering the anguish, longing, heartache and apprehensions of the condemned until former Governor Goodwin Knight commuted the cruel and inhuman sentence; and invoked a far more cruel and inhuman sentence: Life Without Possibility Of Parole...

While on death row, through the concern of Dr. F. D. Haynes, pastor of the Third Baptist Church of San Francisco, and my friend, Dr. Carlton B. Goodlett, local physician, civil rights leader and San Reporter publisher, I was introduced to this wonderful man, Charles R. Garry. At this time I had less than 30 days

to live. This was over 20 years ago. Through these many trying, frustrating and humiliating years, this man, Charles Garry, not only was and is my legal counselor, also he is and has been a Real, Tried and True Friend. Not once has he done a mistrusting deed, always doing whatever possible to ease my burdensome role. He has taught me the essence of brotherhood and the full value of friendship.

It was Charles R. Garry, who has given me a full understanding and appreciation of a Spiritual Power. Thru his ~~etc~~ I have a new concept of love, life and free-

dom. During these many years Charles Garry has waged an incessant legal battle to win my freedom, and rectifying the injustice done me—all without remuneration.

My constant prayers are that, Charles R. Garry, a Man, Humanitarian, Champion of Human and Legal Rights, and my FRIEND enjoy God's richest blessings.

No gift is too precious! No honor is too great for this noble servant of humanity, Charles R. Garry. May his spirit and works never die!

Wesley Robert Wells

THE CASE OF WESLEY ROBERT WELLS TWENTY-SEVEN YEARS A POLITICAL PRISONER

Wesley Robert Wells
P. O. Box No. 24155
San Quentin, Calif.
February 10, 1964

The Honorable Goodwin J. Knight
Governor, State of California
Sacramento, California

Dear Governor Knight:

I am writing you in the hope of appealing to your sense of justice and fair play. In an effort to save my life and not have it snuffed out in the gas chamber on April 9th of this year as scheduled, I am writing this appeal for my life, Sir in my own words, from my heart, as that is the only way I know how to write. To enable you to better understand the injustice that has been and is being done in this case, and to be able to appreciate why I feel that executive clemency should be granted in this case, please allow me to call the following to your attention:

denied to death under Section 4500 of the Penal Code (or any other Section, to my knowledge) for merely an assault, when no life had been taken. And, to my personal knowledge, there has been at least forth assaults with deadly weapons committed by legitimate life term prisoners, and not a "fictitious" life term, such as I am serving, or "was" serving. In fact, even since I've been here on condemned row, there have been such assaults, to my personal knowledge, committed against San Quentin prison guards, by white prisoners. Yet, with the recent exception in the case of Silva, a Portuguese, from Hawaii (who incidentally, demanded of the judge that he sentence him to death, stating that he "wanted to die"), I am, as I've said the first and only man ever condemned under Section 4500 P.C., when no life has been taken. Now, I respectfully ask, Sir, what conclusion is to be drawn from these facts? In view of the foregoing incontrovertible facts, I feel that it

there at this last table, didn't I repeat you to take your hand out of your pocket? A. I did not. Q. How many times would you say that I asked you to take your hand out of your pocket? A. About twice, I would say. Q. And when you approached me you had the knife, and you had your hand on it? A. I had the knife, and my hand in my pocket. Q. And you were requested to take your hand out of your pocket? A. That is right. Q. And you failed to do so, isn't that correct? A. That is correct". (See Reporter's Transcript, Peo. v. Wells, pp. 198-203)

Just before sentence was pronounced against me, Mr. Carr, acting specifically for the purpose of addressing the Court, made the following address:

"It is within the power of the Court at this time to suspend the sentence, or to make the sentence run concurrently with the sentence that the defendant is now serving. Since the man was found guilty, certainly justice will be served by his serving some time. As the matter now stands, even though it was not admitted as evidence, we are all familiar with and aware of the story that he told, and that his witnesses told, to the effect that he felt himself in fear—that he was in fear of being stabbed. However, in accordance with the jury's findings, the defendant was not so justified. I think we all agree that he was at least partly justified. Thus, it would seem to me that mercy would be justified in this case at least to the extent of making the sentence run concurrently with that he is now serving, and that would accomplish the desired end. It was thought that this man would be paroled about this time next month, had it not been for this unfortunate occurrence. The defendant had earned sufficient credits to justify the board, or the Adult Authority to consider his application for parole favorably. At the very most, for the crime for which he was previously convicted, he would have served only one more year. Thus, to quote Portia, 'Mercy tempers justice.' We have nothing further to add to that."

No action was taken against Brown, who as a witness for the state, testified, as cited above, that he advanced upon me with a knife (a butcher knife) after I had asked him "at least twice" to take his hand out of his pocket, and not to come up on me with his hand in his pocket (on the knife). The butcher-knife possessed by him, which was immediately taken into custody, and presumably, also his attempt to use it on me, was justified by the prison officials (and evidently was justified by the District Attorney of Sacramento) on the grounds that: "He was a con boss, and had permission to 'get a knife any time' he needed one." (Rt. p. 21). No, there was no criminal action taken against him, but to the contrary, he was given a parole shortly thereafter... and I was given a sentence of five years to life... for possession of a knife.

THE COURT: "Have you anything to say, Mr. Seely? Mr. Seely (the prosecutor): "No, I have no recommendation, whatever, in the matter. Your Honor's judgment in the case will be satisfactory with me."

THE COURT: "The punishment for this offense is FIVE (5) YEARS... and I take it that the prison board may use its own judgment. Otherwise, there might be some object in the Court trying to determine whether the sentence should run concurrently with his present sentence, or whether the sentence should begin to run at the expiration of his present term. I presume that the section to which Mr. Carr refers to make it optional with the Court, and probably if we didn't mention it, the sentence would run concurrently."

"There was some justification, in a way, if you can say that there could ever be any justification... A prison is a world unto itself. These men confined in prison have their schemes. There are plots and counter-plots. There are all kinds of things committed up there, and all kinds of schemes. If this defendant had exercised the same

amount of skill and intelligence and ingenuity, and thought, that he exercised during this trial, and even when he committed this crime, he would probably be quite an influential man on the outside. He could have acquired almost any position that he desired. But, of course, he didn't do that. I don't know how he got started, but he has been mixed up in crime for a long time, and, as I say, these men confined in the prison have their heads up there, and he probably had had his... maybe more than once. On this occasion BOTH OF THESE MEN HAD KNIVES, and the question between them, was who was going to get the other first". (Rt. p. 219... Emphasis mine.)

After asking and receiving permission of the Court, I said:

"Mr. Seely brought up the point that I had protection of the guards. People have no way of knowing this: Last March of this year, I was standing beside a guard who was as close to me as I was here (indicating a distance of about two feet) and I was attacked and stabbed nine (9) times. And I was standing right beside the guard, and I didn't have so much as a pen-knife with which to defend myself." (Rt. p. 213-214.)

No action was taken against Brown, who as a witness for the state, testified, as cited above, that he advanced upon me with a knife (a butcher knife) after I had asked him "at least twice" to take his hand out of his pocket, and not to come up on me with his hand in his pocket (on the knife). The butcher-knife possessed by him, which was immediately taken into custody, and presumably, also his attempt to use it on me, was justified by the prison officials (and evidently was justified by the District Attorney of Sacramento) on the grounds that: "He was a con boss, and had permission to 'get a knife any time' he needed one." (Rt. p. 21). No, there was no criminal action taken against him, but to the contrary, he was given a parole shortly thereafter... and I was given a sentence of five years to life... for possession of a knife.

It was this conviction that was the basis for the subsequent prosecution and sentence of death. I think it is a note-worthy fact that the trial judge said, as noted above: "The punishment for this offense is FIVE (5) YEARS. Had the trial judge realized at the time that the punishment for the offense was not five years but, in effect, was a life term sentence, in consideration of all the facts and circumstances presented to him, I seriously doubt that he would have passed such a sentence upon me. The fact that I was not charged with or prosecuted for using the knife—which I was forced to do in disarming my assailant,—that I was not charged with assault, but merely charged with possession of the knife, is highly significant. Why was I not prosecuted for assault? Why was Brown not prosecuted for possession of the butcher-knife?

Here, again, we have incontrovertible evidence of arbitrary discrimination for the purpose of prosecuting me unjustly I beseech you, Sir, to thoroughly investigate the facts and surrounding circumstances of this conviction, for as

I've said, it was this conviction that laid the foundation for the subsequent prosecution and sentence of death; and please believe me, Sir, never in the last twenty-five years has any prisoner received such a dirty, rotten deal as was given me by prison officials in that case, and in the case that followed, my conviction and sentence of death—death for throwing and hitting a guard with a cuspidor, death for reacting "normally" to years of abnormal, brutal and inhuman, treatment at the hands of my keepers—after they, on various occasions, had caused my blood to "flow like wine." Such a paradox?

In a report to the Adult Authority with respect to the inmate Brown incident, the prison officials untruthfully, and knowingly so, advised the Authority that: "Wells called inmate Brown, and when the inmate walked up to Wells, without provocation, Wells threw a coat over the head of inmate Brown and stabbed him..." or words to that effect. Now, Sir, that perniciously false report to the Adult Authority was not a mistake, the officials knew when they made it, that it was not true. The officials made the malicious and injurious report with intent and design. It was a part of a well calculated scheme, a practice which had long been in action. I am not supposed to know about the report, but I read it, Sir, shortly after it was written; therefore I know whereof I speak. I beg, Sir, that you check this report against the findings of the trial judge; and, I also urge that you check the statement of the trial judge and the prosecuting attorney, now on file, against their statements as made and recorded in open court, at the time of my trial. If you will, Sir,—and justice demand that you do so—you will find, I'm sure, that some real dirty work has been done in this case. Please do not misunderstand me, Sir, I do not mean to imply that Judge Glen, is, or has been, a party to any shoddiness. But, somebody definitely has.

Now, Sir, I will not undertake to argue the legal merits of my case, as I'm sure you are, or will be, thoroughly familiarized with them. I must say, though, that I feel that the Attorney General has been unfair, unscrupulous and unethical, in the prosecution of the case. The Attorney General, for the very same reason a matador waves the red cloth before the eyes of the bull, presented "documentation" of my so-called prison "record" to every court wherein my case was adjudicated, as though it should be—ad knowing that it should not be—given judicial consideration. One only has to read the various decisions rendered in the case to see that the Attorney General's unscrupulous and underhanded tactics were effective, and accomplished his end. In every court wherein the case was adjudicated, the court made judicial observations with respect to my so-called "record".

Now, that the courts have upheld the judgment of death in the case, the State is contending, as it did in all the courts, on the basis of the so-called "record", a uni-

CONT. NEXT PAGE



In 1946, just prior to the State gubernatorial election, former Governor Earl Warren commuted the death sentence of a young Negro who had been convicted and sentenced to death from Sacramento for the crimes of rape, robbery and kidnap with bodily harm. In commuting the death sentence, the former Governor stated that he was doing so because (1) he did not believe in exacting the supreme penalty in a case when no life had been taken; and (2) that he did not believe the jury would have voted for the death penalty had the defendant been other than a Negro.

Now, Sir, I am heartily in accord with former Governor Warren's opinion as stated in that case, and I feel that the action taken by him was just, and in accord with democratic and Christian principles. I also believe, Sir that the best proof as to whether I would be heretoday under sentence of death, "had I been other than a Negro", lies in the fact that, never in the history of the State, until my conviction in 1947, had any man ever been con-

demned to death under Section 4500 of the Penal Code (or any other Section, to my knowledge) for merely an assault, when no life had been taken. And, to my personal knowledge, there has been at least forth assaults with deadly weapons committed by legitimate life term prisoners, and not a "fictitious" life term, such as I am serving, or "was" serving. In fact, even since I've been here on condemned row, there have been such assaults, to my personal knowledge, committed against San Quentin prison guards, by white prisoners. Yet, with the recent exception in the case of Silva, a Portuguese, from Hawaii (who incidentally, demanded of the judge that he sentence him to death, stating that he "wanted to die"), I am, as I've said the first and only man ever condemned under Section 4500 P.C., when no life has been taken. Now, I respectfully ask, Sir, what conclusion is to be drawn from these facts? In view of the foregoing incontrovertible facts, I feel that it

In 1944, while serving a term of from one to five (1 - 5) years in Folsom prison for driving a car without the owner's consent, I was indicted and subsequently prosecuted for possession of a knife. Believing I had a clear-cut case of self defense, I chose to act as my own counsel. During the trial the following questions and answers were given:

"Q. Now, Brown, when you approached me at the position 'U'

lateral "record", presenting only one side of the story, as always, and doesn't even present that one side accurately or truthfully; that I have a punishment "record" of many infractions of prison rules, that I am incorrigible, "a hardened killer," and therefore should be, and must be, put to death, exterminated--presumably for the "protection of society". The fact that the guard involved in the altercation has stated (as reported by Walter Winchell, over his Sunday evening news broadcast) that he, understandably, does not wish me to be executed is completely forgotten or ignored by the State.

Now, Sir, I assure you that I am not the kind or type of man my so-called "record" portrays me to be, nor am I the depraved beast the State contends that I am. I will not undertake to justify, excuse or rationalize my past prison conduct, for I would be one of the first to admit that I have not been a "model prisoner." But I will say, in all sincerity, that during the many years I've spent in prison, I've been conditioned by necessity, by the law of the jungle--to be tough, to be hard, and at times, even to be mean. I've been forced to fight for my very existence, to employ every means at my disposal for survival. I speak, Sir, the plain unvarnished truth. I've been cynically pitted not only against tough, vicious lifers, prisoners who had no hope of ever being free, and therefore were willing to go to any length, including "putting another prisoner on the spot," to curry favor with the officials, and thus get a "good spot" to do their time, and end their lives on it; and against, as well, wild, young prisoners, striving to make themselves reputations as prison tough guys, but I have also been pitted against ignorant, prejudiced and brutal guards who resented and were antagonized by my independent spirit, my sense of dignity, and sense of justice, and who undertook to break my spirit, and to "teach me my place" as I was told. To accomplish this, I was often unjustly punished, often subjected to all manner of degrading, cruel and inhuman treatment: the "hole", the "lime cure," the "water treatment," the club, and other unspeakable inhumanities.

I first entered prison a young man (19) of high ideals and principles, during my formative years; during a period that might be appropriately termed the "dark age" of prisons and prison administration. Men were sent to prison in those days solely for the purpose of punishment--and they got just that. Little, if any, thought was given to helping the prisoner or to rehabilitate him. The only rule the prison officials knew or practiced in handling of the prisoners was the "rule of the club", the "lime cure", the "water treatment," and the "hole". The prisoner was treated in such a manner as to only bring out the worst in him, to arouse animal instincts; and he would, not infrequently, act and react more like wild, like some depraved beast, than a rational human being.

Those were the days of the con boss system. That is to say, the days when the con bosses ran the prison, and ruled with an iron hand. The con boss had as much power as the guard--and there were some con bosses who had far more power than guards. A con boss could and there were some that did, cause a prisoner's time to be pretty tough. A young prisoner, especially was subject to have his life made really miserable by the con boss unless he was willing and able to fight for his rights, or "draw commissaries" with which to pay off, or unless he was willing to pay off otherwise.

All records were recorded and kept by convicts who had the rating and power of con bosses. If a guard brought you before the captain for some infraction of the rules, the captain would give your card to one of his convict clerks and tell him to write the charge against you. If the "con" clerk happened to be of the opinion that you rated (had influential convict friends), or if he happened not to like the arresting guard, he would write the charge against you so as it would read as a misdemeanor. But, on the other hand, if the "con" clerk, for any number of reasons, should happen to dislike you, he would more than likely write a minor infraction as to read as a "major felony". Then, again, if the infraction were willing and able to pay

the price, there wouldn't be any charge entered against him. It wasn't uncommon for a con boss to have a prisoner put in the hole in an effort to force him to submit to his lustful desire; or as payment to some guard for services rendered.

It was during this period, my early years in prison, during the "dark age" of prison administration, that most of my so-called prison "record" accrued, and cast the die for that which was to follow.

I had been in prison only a short time when I was charged with my first infraction of prison rules; it was for fighting with a prisoner for calling me a nigger. We were brought before Captain Carpenter, and I told him what the fight was, imagine, if you can, my great surprise, and shock, when the captain said: "Well that's what you are, isn't it?" Can you imagine how I felt to have Captain Carpenter say such a thing to me, and to be forced to take it? His remark not only made me angry, but hurt me very deeply, and shamed me. But I could do nor say nothing about it. I then and there resolved that I would prove to the captain--and indeed, to the whole prison world around me--that I was a man, a man who could take unflinchingly anything, any punishment, any abuse he or his guards could inflict upon me, and still live to leave San Quentin a better man than he was. I do believe that something died in me that day; that a metamorphosis took place. That "Bob" Wells, the man so much has been said and written about, was born. And, due to many long years of ignorant, callous and inhuman treatment, and being forced to live under the law of the jungle, "Bob" Wells, for self-preservation, ruthlessly denied existence to Wesley Wells, the young man who entered prison with high ideals and principles; the young man who was unable to believe that the mere pigmentation of his skin was a badge of inferiority, warranting him with less common courtesy to dream of better things--of a chance in life, of a chance to develop a good mind, and to put it to useful work, to someday be a doctor--as was his mother's wish. After that, after the metamorphosis, for many long, dreadful years, Wesley Wells never had a chance.

After 35 months, I was transferred to Folsom. At that time, I was dumb. I thought I would be treated as a man, and would be able to do my time and get out. But, oh, how wrong I was proven to be! Upon my arrival at Folsom I met Captain C. L. Larkin (who later became Warden), a very mountain of a man, weighing about 340 pounds, and about 6 feet 6 inches tall; and without a doubt, the cruellest, most vicious man I ever had the misfortune to meet, and be forced to live with. If there were any prisoner the captain disliked more than another, it was the young San Quentin transfer, who he said caused him all of his trouble. I was called to the Captain's office the first day I entered the prison, and Captain Larkin proceeded to lay down the law to me. "So you think you are a tough nigger, huh?" he said to me. "Well we have ways here to handle tough niggers." He then tells me, "I'll have you eating out of my hand before you leave here." And as I started out of his office, to wait on the "captain's line", as he told me to do, he kicked me viciously--just to convince me, I imagine, that he did "have ways to handle tough niggers". Well, that was my Folsom reception; and the battle between the captain and me was on, he to break me, and have me "eating out of his hand," as he said he would, and I just as determined to prove him wrong.

Though the racial discrimination in San Quentin was bad, it was ultra-democratic in comparison to that of Folsom. For example, most of the colored prisoners were housed in what was known as the "bustard roost", in Number One Building; and were the last ones to enter the mess-hall. They had to stand against the mess hall wall and watch and wait until the complete prison body entered the mess-hall and was served, before they could enter the mess hall. Having been reared from an early age in West Los Angeles, in a rather democratic neighborhood, I found the racial discrimination of the prisons extremely galling, and

due to my inability to submit to it without showing my resentment, I soon incurred the hostility of the prison officials in general, and aggravated the animosity of Captain Larkin. In particular, I will not undertake to relate the many abuses, the many injustices, the cruel and inhuman treatment accorded me by the prison officials of Folsom, for to do so would necessitate me writing a book. But I feel it to be in the interest of justice and I would be unfair to my-

den, the Asso. Warden, and I think the third member was a lieutenant by the name of Duchanon. I was charged with and summarily "found guilty" of possession of a knife. Though no knife was ever taken from me, nor was one found near me, neither was I ever shown the knife I was supposed to have had. But I was "found guilty" and sentenced to 30 days in the hole, on bread and water--even though I was just out of the hospital.

During my "trial" a gun-guard



self were I to fail to apprise you of the following.

In 1944, less than six months prior to the charge of possession of the knife, previously mentioned herein, I was attacked by a prisoner and stabbed nine times--practically everywhere but the bottom of my feet--while I stood within ten feet of a prison guard, and didn't have so much as a pen-knife with which to defend myself. I was carried to the prison hospital, and after much sewing and patching an emergency abdominal operation was performed upon me; and for days I laid in the hospital in what was said to be "a critical condition".

The day the doctor, Dr. J. F. McAnally, told me it would be alright for me to go to the wash-room and do a little walking around, the Warden ordered that I be put in the hole; but the doctor would not allow it. The Warden then ordered that I be placed and confined in one of the hospital "rooms". I argued strongly against the move; and the doctor told me that I was right, that I was not in any condition to be in a "room" but that it was the warden's order. He then told me to go on in the "room" and he would have a talk with the warden. The next day I was moved back into the hospital ward. After about twenty-five days, when the steel clamps had been removed from my stomach, and the last stitches had been removed from my body, that very day the warden had me put in the hole, on a bread and water diet. After five or six days in the hole, the doctor was successful in prevailing upon the officials to feed me one meal a day.

In due course I was brought before the disciplinary committee, which was composed of the War-

den, the Asso. Warden, and I think the third member was a lieutenant by the name of Duchanon. I was charged with and summarily "found guilty" of possession of a knife. Though no knife was ever taken from me, nor was one found near me, neither was I ever shown the knife I was supposed to have had. But I was "found guilty" and sentenced to 30 days in the hole, on bread and water--even though I was just out of the hospital.

During my "trial" a gun-guard

who was in a gun-tower about 40 or 50 feet away from where I was attacked and stabbed, testified "that he saw the whole affair from beginning to end." The he saw my assailant attack me, that he saw me laying flat upon my back kicking, kicking for my very life at my assailant, who was standing over me, cutting and stabbing me. He testified that he saw all of this, yet he did not call out to anyone, he did not fire a shot, he did not blow his whistle, he did absolutely nothing to stop my assailant from killing me. And, when a guard did finally come to my rescue, and disarmed the would be killer, Associate Warden William J. Ryan questioned the guard, "Why did you stop him?"

There were no criminal charges ever filed against my assailant, not even for possession of the knife. He was transferred to San Quentin, and given a parole shortly thereafter.

from one cell to another in the back alley. Guard Joe George arrived and told the other guards to leave, that he would, and did, move me to the cell. After I was in the cell, Lieutenant Duchanon then entered and began to jab me in the ribs and stomach with a long, heavy, steel-tipped walking cane. I grabbed a hold of one end of the cane, and with the Lieutenant holding onto the other end, we stood there arguing. Guard Joe George stood just inside of the cell, and listened and watched the argument; guard Joe Nunn stood just outside of the cell and witnessed the whole affair. Guard C. L. Jensen roughly shoved guard Joe George aside and rushed into the cell and, with these words, "You black sonofabitch, you can't talk to my superior officer like that!" he struck me a cruel, vicious blow with his club over my left eye, laying it wide open, requiring several stitches to close. To justify the assault upon me, I was charged with attempting to assault the lieutenant. When I was "tried" before a disciplinary composed of the Warden, the Associate warden and Lieutenant Duchanon, Guard Joe George testified that he was standing right in the cell doorway, and that he did not see me make any attempt to assault the lieutenant or anyone else. Later that day Dr. P. W. Day, the Chief Medical officer of the prison, questioned Guard Joe George as to just what had happened, and the surrounding circumstances, and was advised, as was the warden, that I had not raised my hands to strike anyone, that the assault upon me was cruel, unwarranted and unjustifiable. As the guard testified Dr. Day made notes. (Guard Joe Nunn testified to the same effect when I was tried in Sacramento for throwing and hitting the guard with the cuspidor.) Note that standing guards Nunn and Joe George's testimony, I was "found guilty", and sentenced to 30 days in the hole.

Well, Sir, what do you think? Was there any basis for the doctors' findings? Would you say that I had cause to be in fear? I have related only a few of such incidents as above mentioned, there were many more that I would like to tell you of, which my so-called "record" give no account of. They are recorded, however, in my medical record, a record that you will find very informative, therefore, I urge that you read it. To enable you to better understand and to be able to appreciate somewhat of what I went through in Folsom, the physical and mental suffering, what a "hell-on-earth" my life was, I quote from a couple of letters, one written in October, 1944, to the Adult Authority, and the other one to Mr. Philip C. Wilkins, my attorney, shortly after my arrival here on condemned row, in 1947. First, the Adult Authority letter:

"My purpose in writing you this brief of my life is intended to serve you, the members of the Adult Authority, in aiding me, fixing my term and the like; and so I present not as a defense, especially, but at least, as an explanation of the events which have occurred during my time..."

"I made every effort to live down my reputation, but it was a hopeless task. I had 'cast the die,' so to speak, and the inmates intended to see that the 'cast' was not changed. The officials were determined to 'change me,' they applied treatment to bring about the desired 'change' that was abusive, and at times downright inhuman, that only resulted in arousing my defiance. One time the former captain, and later Warden, told me that I was a tough nigger; that he would have me eating out of his hand before I was out of Folsom. After twelve years and seven months of imprisonment under very tough, and at times adverse conditions, I obtained my release, with the aid of former Warden C. I. Plummer, who had showed marked interest in me since he first was appointed warden at this prison. I sincerely doubt whether I would have ever lived to be free had it not been for the interest of Warden Plummer."

CONT.

NEXT ISSUE

SCEF ORGANIZERS PUT FASCIST CITY ON TRIAL

Gainesville, Florida--A three-judge panel of the Fifth U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals has ruled that six local militants are entitled to a hearing on whether city officials acted in bad faith by bringing charges of arson, inciting a riot, and resisting arrest against them.

In effect, the ruling opens the way for the militants to put the city on trial.

The six had charged that city officials --including the mayor, sheriff, police chief and city manager--brought the charges in an attempt to harass them and stop them from organizing. The officials filed affidavits before Judge Harold Carswell, formerly of the U.S. District Court for the Northern District of Florida, claiming that they did not act in bad faith. Judge Carswell denied the militants a hearing.

Judges Orrin Phillips, Griffin B. Bell and Lewis R. Morgan, the two latter from Georgia, reversed Carswell's decision. They said that the city officials gave no new information in their affidavits, and that no facts were presented so that the trial court could arrive at its own conclusions. They ordered an evidentiary hearing to see if the appellants can prove their charges, which are based on the landmark Dombrowski decision.

Under Dombrowski, a judge can stop persecutions that would have a "chilling effect" on the exercise of first-amendment freedoms. In the past, civil-rights attorneys have used it mainly to strike down invalid statutes. With this ruling, its reach is broadened to attack valid statutes which have been invalidly applied.

"Officials can never deny you a hearing now by merely saying: 'We didn't act in bad faith,'" said Atty. William M. Kunstler, who represented the militants. "The ruling means that in all these cases you're entitled to an evidentiary hearing--which means that we can try the city."

"We are now making a motion for an evidentiary hearing to be held in the city of Gainesville."

Kunstler and Atty. Bill Bender, the Law Center for Constitutional Rights, filed the suit in April, 1968, to stop the prosecution of 5 Black Gainesville leaders on charges of arson, two other Florida militants on charges of inciting a riot, and of Mrs. Carol Thomas, a white woman charged with resisting arrest. All have spent many months in jail during the last one and a half years.



TWO FACES OF FASCISM

The repression of the Black Panther Party in America is tantamount to Nazi-Yar. Not yet three years old, and some 15 members have been murdered by the fascist pigs. And now these tactics have become more carnage. The murder of Alex Rackley was the work of cold blooded Fascist Murder by the Fascist pigs of Connecticut. The arrest of the N.Y. 21 was the initiation of brazen fascist war on the Black Panther Party, the murder of Alex Rackley is the open line for fascist repression against all the organizations that demand free speech and self determination. History reminds us of the burning of the Reichstag records, the McCarthy era during the political repression of the C.P.U.S.A. If the ignominious crimes of the fascist regimes are not met with an alliance of Workers, Students, Liberals and Progressive Democrats the future of America will reflect the heinous crime of Fascist Germany. Now different are the Jews and philosophy of Governor Reagan

and Adolph Hitler, from my point of view it is only assassination. They wrest control of human lives under the hammer of Law and Order which is a Fascist Philosophy, rescuing in the black communities, college campuses by pigs and school administrators on a national level. The murder of Alex Rackley was a calculated plot to annihilate the members of the Black Panther Party in order to justify their perfidious attacks against the Black Panther Party. If allowed to go on in the manner of unbridled Fascist terror, this will be the green light for neo-fascism in America.

We cannot depend on the Fascist press to give a true account of the persecution of our Party, its columns assure us that the "great American democracy is immune to Fascism. People who recognize Fascism for what it is in a country 3,000 miles away, frequently fail to identify it when it develops in their own country under their very noses. They mechanically seek to

identify fascism by the garments which it wears in other countries and are unable to recognize it when it wears new clothes.

In the United States, for instance, there are many people who on the basis of Sunday-supplement accounts of Hitler and Mussolini refuse to see the growth of fascism, unless it takes the shape of a Man on Horseback riding down Pennsylvania Avenue, or a megalomaniac with a little mustache, making speeches in a big voice. But history is richer and more varied. It does not follow stereotyped formulae. Fascism takes on diverse, and frequently subtle, forms.

The Black Panther Party recognizes it for what it is in America. The demagogic politician, the vicious businessman and the fascist pig cops: ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE
Chief of Staff
David Hilliard



PETITION STATEMENT FOR COMMUNITY CONTROL OF POLICE

SUMMARY OF POLICE CONTROL AMENDMENT THAT MUST BE ESTABLISHED IN THE CITIES AND COMMUNITIES OF AMERICA TO END FASCISM

This amendment to a City charter would give control of the police to community elected neighborhood councils so that those whom the police should serve will be able to set police policy and standards of conduct.

The amendment provides for community control of the police by establishing police departments for the major communities of any city; the Black community, the predominately White area, the Mexican American Communities, etc., etc. The departments would be separate and autonomous. They can by mutual agreement use common facilities. Each Department will be administered by full time police commissions. (Not single police chiefs.) The Commissioners are selected by a

Neighborhood Police Control Council composed of fifteen members from that community elected by those who live there. Each department shall have five Community Council divisions within it. (Or number of departments ratioed to population.)

The Councils shall have the power to discipline officers for breaches of Department policy or violations of law. (Against the people). They may direct their police Commissioner to make changes in department wide police policy by majority vote of the said department commissioners. The Council can recall the Commissioner appointed by it at any time it finds that he is no longer responsive to the community. The community can recall the council members when they are not responsive to it.

All police officers must live in the department they work in, and will be hired accordingly.

FASCIST FORCES MOVE NATIONWIDE TO DESTROY BLACK PANTHER PARTY



LONNIE MC LUCAS

When the oppressor makes a vicious attack against freedom fighters because of the way that such freedom fighters choose to go about their liberation, then we know we are moving in the direction of our liberation.

—Harry J. Newton

The Black Panther party is under nationwide attack, in a concerted government effort to destroy gains the Panthers have made in black communities. In a June 5 press conference, Bobby Seale, Black Panther party chairman, said more than 40 Panther leaders have been arrested in the last two months. The Panthers have lost key people in Oregon, Connecticut, Colorado, New Jersey and California. Seale termed these arrests "nothing more than Richard Nixon's operations."

CONNECTICUT PANTHERS



PEGGY HUGGINS



WARREN KIMBRO



MAUDE FRANCIS



ERICA HUGGINS



JEANNIE WILSON



ROSE SMITH



FRANCIS CARTER



GEORGE EDWARDS

FASCISM

Fascism is the open terrorist dictatorship of the most reactionary, most chauvinistic (racist) and most imperialist elements of finance capital. It does not stand above both classes - the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, nor is it super-class government, nor government of the petty-bourgeoisie or the lumpen proletariat over finance capital. Fascism is the power of finance capital itself. FINANCE CAPITAL manifests itself not only as banks, trusts, and monopolies, but also as the human property of FINANCE CAPITAL - the avaricious businessman, the demagogic politician, and the racist pig cop. FASCISM is the organization of terrorist vengeance against the working class, and the revolutionary section of the peasantry and intelligentsia.

**CAPITALISM PLUS RACISM
EQUALS FASCISM**

Seale's figure of 40 did not include the indictment of 21 Panthers in New York City on April 3. They were charged with conspiring to bomb several department stores, blow up the Bronx Botanical Gardens, several police stations and a section of railroad tracks. This was the high point of a New York police vendetta which has brought 60 charges against Panthers in the last 10 months. There have been no convictions.

Thirteen of the Panther 21 are currently being held on \$100,000 bail each in seven New York prisons under maximum security. They are kept in lighted cells 24 hours a day, they are allowed no recreation or library privileges, and have not been permitted to meet as a group with their lawyers, Gerry Lefcourt and William Kunstler, to prepare their defense.

Under these conditions and with hostile nationwide publicity, the Panther 21 are guaranteed a prejudiced trial if it is held, as scheduled, on June 11. Defense lawyers have asked a federal court for a show-cause hearing which would force the state commissioner of corrections to release the prisoners, to lower their bail or to show that no injustice or violation of procedures has taken place which would deny them a fair trial.

There have been 10 hearings on bail reduction for the 21. Lonnie Eggs, a minor, had his bail reduced to \$10,000 and was released. A "friendly" bailbondsmen told one Panther, "I got a call from DA Phillips saying that I would lose my license to do business if I bailed out the Panthers."

The government has used the Panther 21 case to bust and harass Panther chapters all over the country. In New Haven, Conn. on May 22, eight members of a chapter just being formed were arrested and charged with kidnapping and murdering a New York Panther who, the police claim, was going to testify against the Panther 21.

Raids a pretext

Panther offices in Chicago, Denver and Salt Lake City have been raided by police and FBI agents looking for New York and New Haven "fugitives." Local authorities have tried to use these raids to turn community opinion against the Panthers. The raids have also been pretexts for police confiscation of Panther organizing material, money and whatever else was portable.

In New Haven, Conn. police claim eight local Panthers kidnaped Alix Rackley from New York and murdered him in New Haven. Rackley, the cops say, was to testify against the Panther 21. The New York Panther office says Rackley was an excellent organizer who had close contact with the people of Harlem. "Brother Alix was murdered by the pigs and now eight Panthers have been framed on trumped-up charges and are being held captive without bail."

On June 3, Chicago police and FBI agents with machine guns forced their way into Panther headquarters, claiming they were looking for "George Sams, a fugitive from New York." Eight Panthers were arrested, charged with harboring a federal fugitive and illegal possession of weapons.

Two days later in Denver, Rory Hite, 18, and Landon Robert Williams, 25, were arrested for unlawful flight to avoid prosecution. They were taken into custody at Panther headquarters and charged with being involved in the New Haven case. Bail for each was set at \$200,000.

Another Panther allegedly involved in the case was arrested in Salt Lake City June 6. Lonnie McLucas, 23, was charged with unlawful flight to avoid prosecution and had bail set at \$100,000.

On the night of June 7 about 400 black people gathered in the street outside the Indianapolis Black Panther party office. Three cops in a patrol car tried to disperse the crowd. The cops claim they were attacked.

Police used the gathering as a pretext for entering the Panther office and busting everyone present. About half of the 30 persons arrested were Panthers. The incident happened on the second night of disturbances in Indianapolis, in which about 200 blacks have been arrested and six injured. One undercover agent was reportedly wounded by a sniper.

These raids on the Panthers are being used in New York to prejudice the public against the Panther 21. The press reports each bust with blaring headlines, although the Panthers here have never been found guilty on any charge. The press never mentions the Panther's 10-point political program or the fact that they are setting up free medical care services and free breakfasts for school children. We never hear that the Panthers say, "We want land, bread, housing, education, justice and peace," instead we hear trumped-up charges, ridiculous stories and enormous bail figures.

Action is being taken to publicize the real nature of the nationwide move against the Panthers. A series of demonstrations have been held in New York, the most recent on June 3 at the federal courthouse, where 200 people showed up.

Two of the Panther 21—Joan Bird and Afeni Shakur—and two Panthers arrested on other charges are being held at the Women's House of Detention, 6th Avenue and West 10th Street. The Ad Hoc Committee to Support the Panther 21 has called for a demonstration there on June 14 at 1 p.m.

In New Haven, members of Yale SDS distributed a leaflet stating, "The charges against the New Haven Panthers, which have been trumped up by the government and police, are intended to intensify race hatred by playing upon the legends and myths instilled in white people by the educational system and the mass media."

The Panthers have called for a national conference of revolutionaries to form a United Front Against Fascism. The conference will be held July 18-21 in Oakland, Calif. The Panthers expect 5000 participants and the call to the conference stresses the need for "a front which has a common revolutionary ideology and political program which answers the basic desires and needs of all people in fascist-capitalistic, racist America. Primary objective will be community control of police to end fascism."

This article is a reprint from the Guardian
June 14, 1969 issue



LANDON R. WILLIAMS



RORY B. HITHE

POLITICAL PRISONERS

Rory Hithe and Landon Williams are political prisoners held in jail in Denver Colorado on charges of unlawful flight to avoid prosecution. The brothers were arrested when fascist FBI and Denver pigs ramped on the Denver Black Panther Party headquarters with guns and machine guns. These brothers are held in isolation cells because they refuse to work, they refuse to submit to super-exploitation while they are in the fascist jail. They are on a diet of bread and water. They are not allowed to the human privilege of taking

a shower. They have no commissary privileges. Their families can spend only 15 minutes visiting time with them. That 15 minutes is spent talking through a telephone which is partitioned off by a glass wall.

Landon Williams has a seven week old baby girl whom he is more interested in than being in a fascist concentration camp.

"The spirit of a Panther is greater than the man's jail."

DYNAMITE

BOILING POT OF FASCISM

By elevating my consciousness to the revolutionary level, I have come to realize the fascism all around me. I have come to recognize the San Joaquin Valley for the plantation that it is. In becoming a revolutionary, I recognize who the plantation owners are. They are the rich farmers who control the San Joaquin Valley, who have argued for the idea of industrializing the San Joaquin Valley for years. It must be pointed out that the puppet politicians stood up for the peoples' rights only after repeatedly being reminded by the poor and working masses.

In accessing this in seeing how these fascists have neglected black people, their community and its schools, I have broken off from this present governmental system. And I say to all the other slaves on this plantation, "Declare yourselves in a state of rebellion as I have done. Unite and we will join with the struggle that is going on around the

world to end colonialism!

And in conclusion to my analysis of the San Joaquin Valley and Fresno, its largest city, I find that it is a boiling pot of racism. Toms fly around the shit-smelling poverty programs getting money that smells with the stench of the deceit of the masses into thinking they have something to hope for in the present day governmental system. They fly around these programs like so many flies around fresh shit. I say this, the government should serve the people and if it doesn't, off the government!

And since the San Joaquin Valley greatly exudes all of the qualities of fascism, I say it and all its fascist inhabitants should be dealt with by any means necessary. ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE. DOWN WITH THE LANDOWNERS. Dwayne A. Williams, Jr. Lt. of Information, Fresno

OPEN LETTER:

TO A POLITICAL PRISONER

TO: Landon Robert Williams:

The fascist pigs think they've taken you away from the revolution don't they? They thought that they had taken Malcolm away, but he's here. He's here in the teachings of Huey P. Newton. They thought they had taken Huey away, but he's here; the Vanguard, the Black Panther Party is Huey P. Newton. Fools, they can't see that you, "Bunchy", John, Eldridge, and all other revolutionaries are all manifestations of Malcolm and Huey. This just goes to show the low level of intelligence of the stupid, fascist, capitalistic power structure. Those of you (N.Y. 21, Conn. 8 etc.) have fought for the people, taught the people and are now incarcerated as political prisoners, you will continue doing these things.

Chairman Mao says that "A revolutionary should have largeness of mind and he should be staunch and active, looking upon the interests of the revolution as his VERY LIFE and subordinating his personal interests to those of the revolution; ALWAYS and EVERYWHERE he should adhere to principles and wage a tireless struggle against all incorrect ideas and actions. He should be more concerned about the party and the masses than about any individual (be it wife, mother, child) and more concerned about others than himself. Only then can he be considered a revolutionary."

John Higgins, and Alprontice "Bunchy" Carter and many other brothers have sacrificed much more than freedom for the people, they have given their lives out of love. Love for the people. The revolution is your life, so therefore you must continue to educate oppressed people. You will educate your brothers in jail, because if they were not oppressed they wouldn't be there. "We revolutionaries are like seeds and the people like soil. Wherever we go, we must unite with the people, take root and blossom among them."

---Chairman Mao
Your absence from this "jail" a sham for a country called the United States of America, will be manifested by all revolutionaries in many different ways, all pre-

senting a UNITED FRONT against this overt and instantly fascist country which only displayed a little of its true nature on you. Shackled like a slave bound to his master. Fuck that shit. Shackled only in body, not in mind, spirit nor in soul, always a Panther and a servant of the people.

You have a 5 week old daughter Kijana Melike, who has been instilled with revolutionary principles. This was instilled in her from revolutionary parents through practice in a revolutionary environment. She was born a revolutionary and will die one; the first of a new generation whose minds will not be conditioned by this power structure. A counter-revolutionary she cannot be. The people, and

I will not tolerate it. Long may she and all others like her live to carry out the needs and desires of the people.

This, as all the other five ass busters makes me mad and even more so, makes me realize the desperate need of the people to free themselves from this beast. As your wife I say, "I love you and miss you, but with your incarceration, we are one step closer to overthrowing this fascist regime."

The RED BOOK is my bible, the GUN my staff.
VICTORY TO THE PEOPLE!
VICTORY IS OURS!
ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!
LONG LIVE THE MINISTER OF DEFENSE!
Ora Williams



A CASE FOR BROTHER HUEY

The wanton slaying of a white man by Los Angeles pigs recently presents a case for Minister of Defense Huey P. Newton, and show a reckless disregard for human life inherent in the attitudes and acts of the assassins in blue.

When Brother Huey was accused of killing one of Oakland's paid assassins during an obvious attempt by them to assassinate him, no one dared believe that cops would shoot one another while acting in a ruthless and reckless fashion. When the question as to whether Brother Huey killed whether the cops actually shot one another and wounded the brother in their effort to murder him because of his revolutionary stance, which posed a serious threat to the reactionary, imperialistic United States, few dared think it and apparently none dared believe it. Those doubtful persons should now reevaluate the circumstances surrounding Brother Huey's plight, especially in view of the L.A. slaying, for this murder raises some very serious and definite questions and should better serve to give greater insight into the psychology at work in the fascist police departments of America: the impulsive desire to kill.

In the L.A. killing, which occurred June 11, 29-year-old Donald Lee Oughton, a white man, was gunned down as he apparently sought to produce identification for

two fascist pigs who stopped him allegedly as a suspect in reported sniping on the Hollywood freeway. Early reports had it that Oughton had exchanged gunfire with blue-clad assassins who had gone to an overpass, where a sniper reportedly had fired rifle shots at passing cars, but it was later determined that Oughton was unarmed.

Oughton had apparently been rushing home to view a regular weekly wrestling program on television when the two pigs, Norman P. O'Malley and rookie cop Henry Kennedy, spotted him rushing along several blocks from the freeway.

"All of a sudden, without any apparent notice, he slowed to a walk," a spokesman for the assassins said. When ordered to do so, Oughton stopped and approached O'Malley and Kennedy, who alighted from their car and positioned themselves about him.

Oughton is reported to have turned and reached for his back pocket.

"Watch out, he's got a gun!" rookie Kennedy is to have yelled, without ever seeing a weapon or anything that appeared to be one. At this Kennedy drew and fired, missing Oughton and striking O'Malley in the left index finger. O'Malley was standing behind Oughton--O'Malley should have been able to see that the man had no gun--and Kennedy in front of him,

DONALD L. OUGHTON
The victim

O'Malley pulled his gun and shot Oughton dead, reportedly believing that Oughton had shot him.

The slain man's mother said her son always carried a card in his pocket with his name and address on it because of a speech handicap he had. She said he must have been reaching for it when he was slain.

"My son doesn't own a gun, and

never carried a gun," she said.

A search of the area turned up neither a gun nor evidence of a sniper.

One need not be prejudiced in behalf of the Black Panther Minister of Defense, or be down on cops to see that there are very similar aspects in this case and that of Brother Huey. One need only look at the proven weaknesses of the nation's police system, a system that has been recently recognized by some men in government as a growing and most threatening political force in the life of America. This always comes about prior to an all out fascist take-over, as is apparent here in the Huey P. Newton case, the slaying of Martin Luther King Jr., and the persecution and murder of Malcolm X, and the persecution and attempted murder of the Minister of Information of the Black Panther Party, Eldridge Cleaver, all of who threatened the smooth success of the total advent of fascism. In the eye of fascism, the fascists always become much more daring in their acts against the people because there stands none to oppose them, and those who do rise in opposition are either silenced or killed. Witness what is happening to the Black Panther Party on a national scale.





Agents Leave Their Scar

Bobby Rush, (left), Deputy Minister of Defense for the Illinois Black Panther Party and Russ Meek, chairman of the Black Impeachment Committee (center) look down at debris on floor of Panther office, 2350 W. Madison, after FBI agents broke in and arrested six persons. Un-



identified man (right) shows Daily Defender photographer door that agents broke through to get into Panther headquarters (Daily Defender photos by Ted Bell).

HARASSMENT OF ILLINOIS PANTHERS

On June 4, Wednesday at 5:15 a.m., FBI agents, aided by local pigs, ramped on the Illinois Chapter Office of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY. By 5:15, when the brothers realized what was happening, there were about 30 pigs on the roof of the office and next door. The officer of the day was informed that the pigs were on the phone. One brother, Allen Bruce Dixon, broke down the door where the guns were kept and he and two others started loading them up. Pigs were outside with a bullhorn telling them they had 60 seconds that they (pigs) would start using tear gas. The two sisters that were in the office started getting rags and gas masks ready. The pigs had an area of 2 miles barricaded off from people and cars.

The Officer of the Day then realized that the streets and roof were infested with pigs and ordered all out of the building. While brother Larry was coming out of the office a pig tried to come in and he kicked the door closed. The Officer of the Day realized that two brothers were still in the building. He got a bullhorn and ordered them out. Before the eight were taken away they saw about 15 FBI agents entering the building. FBI agents ransacked the Westside office. They confiscated seven rifles, two shotguns, boxes of ammunition, destroyed a mimeograph machine, and confiscated four typewriters. Also taken was \$3,000 in cash and checks. The majority of the money was for the free medical clinic and the political prisoner defense fund. Over 5,000 essays of Huey, several hundred petitions to free Fred, red books, and other educational supplies were taken. Records were confiscated. The walls of the office were stripped of pictures and posters, desk drawers were taken out of the office. Propaganda that was to go out that morning was also taken. Paint (black) and cereal was thrown all over the second floor. Food for BPP was ripped open and scattered throughout the building. The pigs, who were heavily armed with machine guns, shotguns, bullet-proof vests, hand weapons of all calibers, and a helicopter, took the following people into custody:

1. Patrick Keen, charged with harboring a fugitive -- \$4,000 bond, 3-5 years, released on recognizance bond.

2. Bruce Allen Dixon (education cadre) charged with harboring a fugitive, released on \$4,000 bond, recognizance.

3. Larry Roberson (security) was charged the same as above; released on recognizance.

4. Andrea Graves (registered nurse/health cadre) charged with harboring a fugitive, \$3,000 bond, released same as above.

5. Georgia Washington (secretary/ distribution) charged same as Andrea.

6. Harvey Molt (security); same charge, released on recognizance.

7. Jessie Ward (education cadre) same charge, released on signature.

8. Lockett Bibbs (section leader) same charge, released on signature.

The FBI claims they were looking for George Sam Jr. No such person was found in the building. The pigs never told the eight inside what they wanted; they just shouted for all to come out before they lobbed tear gas in. No warrant was ever presented. Community residents estimated that more than 500 pigs cordoned off a 5 square block (2 mile) area. Everyone goes to court on June 20th, U.S. Commissioner, Federal Building.

On June 10, 1969, Tuesday; sixteen major indictments were levied on 16 Illinois Panthers by the Cook County Grand Jury. Edward V. Hanrahan immediately had arrest warrants issued for the sixteen. They are:

1. Frederick Allen Hampton, Deputy Chairman of the Illinois Chapter of the BPP; charged with aggravated kidnapping; bond standing \$100,000. Chairman Fred is being held at Menard Prison, sentenced from 2-5 years on an ice cream robbery. He has not been brought to bond reduction court as of yet.

2. William N. O'Neal-rank and file member picked up the same day. Charged with kidnapping and unlawful use of weapons.

3. Richard Powell, picked up the same day, charged with conspiracy to kidnap.

4. James White, charged with kidnapping, illegal use of weapons.

5. David Valentine, charged with conspiracy to kidnap, illegal use of weapons.

Also, 10 people are being sought by the pigs, mostly for the crimes of kidnapping and illegal possession of weapons.

We see the indictments as a calculated move to destroy the leadership of the Illinois Chapter of the Black Panther Party. After the imprisonment of Deputy Chairman Fred Hampton failed to stop the programs of the Party, pig states attorney Edward V. (Vulture) Hanrahan has tried everything in his power to destroy the party. Through the news media, Hammerhead Hanrahan is trying to portray the Party as a gang of criminals, dangerous to the people and not their friends as we rightfully are. We are combatting this tendency with an increase in daily propaganda and an increase in sales of newspapers. We are trying to put a newsletter together to combat the daily racism perpetuated by the city newspapers.

The Justice Department admitted to the newspaper that they are carrying out intensive investigation into the activities of the Party. Since the former gangs have turned into political groups threatening the home rule of Daley's and the government political structure, the Grand Jury has been working day and night to frame all political groups and individual revolutionaries. The Grand Jury is conducting investigations into the former gang's activities and into the political groups that are putting together programs to aid the communities. Gang warfare has been brought to a halt.

Several members of the Young Lords have been indicted, including chairman Cha-Cha Jimenez who has gone into hiding. The pigs are trying everything to co-opt the members. It isn't working. They want no part of the power structure.

Deputy Chairman Fred was moved from Stateville to Menard Prison. They moved him on June 3rd without notifying his attorneys or his family. They are trying to keep him from the people and the party. No appeal bond has been issued. He was never brought to court to have the bond lowered.

He has been indicted for aggravated kidnapping. The charge carries a sentence of the electric chair. The attorneys are working hard on the case.

We are seeing to it that every living soul knows about the frame-up and the attempts to destroy the party. Thousands of petitions are being sent out. Donations will be solicited all across the Midwest. The section leaders are going to start teaching classes in their sections that the community can attend. New center for the Breakfast and Lunch for Children Pro-

grams are being sought. We are intensifying the struggle on all levels. As revolutionaries, we understand the two most important things in a people's struggle are leadership (the vanguard) and the active support of the people. We will combat the pigs' attempts to destroy the vanguard, imprison the youth and deceive the people.

A Pig Is Nothing But An Enemy Soldier!

Lt. Eugene Charles, Information Illinois Chapter, Information

**FREE THE
N.Y. 21
BAIL MONEY
NEEDED**

**SEND TO
BLACK PANTHER PARTY**

**BOX 1224
BROOKLYN 11202
NEW YORK**

THE GOVERNMENT VERSUS FRED HAMPTON AND THE PEOPLE -- AN EXAMPLE OF CONTRADICTIONS

I. THE JURY

Although it is said that every defendant has a right to a trial by a jury of his peers, Fred Hampton was tried by a jury which was selected from a list including few poor black young people; even the blacks on the list were for the most part thrown out by the State's Attorney.

Although a defendant is supposed to have the right to disqualify jurors who are prejudiced against him, Fred Hampton was allowed to probe for prejudice only by asking potential jurors questions in the presence of each other, so that each juror quickly learned from the answers of prior jurors what was the acceptable answer to questions on prejudice.

II. THE TESTIMONY

Although witnesses are not supposed to be allowed to unduly inflame the passion and sympathy of the jurors, the ice cream man who testified against Fred Hampton was allowed to testify in an army uniform.

Although jurors, in judging the credibility of witnesses, are to take into account the content and manner of the witness' testimony, the jury that tried Fred Hampton ignored the many inconsistencies and "I don't know" answers of the ice cream man.

Although police officers are public officials whose duty is to protect the innocent by thorough investigations of cases and truthful testimony in court, Officer Duffy who testified against Fred Hampton, has a long record of personal vendettas and many harassments against Fred Hampton; and Officer Duffy committed perjury during the sentencing hearing on Fred Hampton, thus further destroying the credibility of his testimony.

Although the ice cream man was sworn to tell the truth, he testified that Fred Hampton simultaneously stomped on his chest and tried to choke him, a physical impossibility, and he also testified that when he pointed out Fred Hampton as the offender, Fred Hampton was wearing a shirt with



Fred Hampton, Chairman, Illinois Black Panther Party

a foot print of the ice cream man on it, but that shirt and foot print were never introduced into evidence.

III. THE JUDGE

Although Judge Sidney A. Jones, Jr. is under oath to uphold his constitutional duty to be fair and impartial during a trial and to disqualify himself if he is unable to be fair and impartial, he tried Fred Hampton at a time when the

judge's job was at stake because of the judge's finding not guilty a hoodlum who had run over a child.

Although Judge Jones took responsibility for his decision in the child death case, he stated that he could take no responsibility for granting bail for Fred Hampton, who was accused not of killing children, but of taking ice cream bars for them.

IV. THE LEGAL SYSTEM

Although justice is, in legal theory, based upon the truth, Fred Hampton's trial illustrates how it is in fact based upon the stories of the State's witnesses, who can easily be taught to tell the stories so as to make it impossible for the defense to prove incompleteness, inaccuracies and lies.

Although the State has at its command immense investigative and lawyer resources, Fred Hampton had only himself and an attorney who agreed to represent him for fee.

Although the real issue in Fred Hampton's trial was the racism of the ice cream man, the police and the jury, the legal system precludes the raising of these issues by strict rules of relevancy and strident limits on what constitutes proof.

Although Americans admire such legendary figures as Robin Hood, the criminal law penalizes severely even those, such as Fred Hampton, who are accused, tried and convicted without proof of being Robin Hoods.

Although the legal system is theoretically neutral about a person's politics (e.g. a person cannot be held to answer in court about his ballots), Fred Hampton was tried, convicted and sentenced solely because of his politics and most especially because of his efforts to build power among poor people which is a threat to those who control the legal system (i.e., Mayor Daley, who effectively appoints and fires judges, prosecutors, and police officers).

Although the law is theoretically enforced equally against all citizens, the prosecutor and the police have in fact unbridled discretion to choose who is arrested and charged and what they are charged for, a discretion exercised to find a way, among the government's arsenal of "criminal laws," for getting Fred Hampton in jail.

V. THE VERDICT

Although a People's trial in which the transcript of the government's trial was used for evidence, found Fred Hampton in-

sistent, the government's trial found him guilty.

VI. THE SENTENCING

Although the law requires that a judge base his sentence on the "moral character" of the defendant, Judge Jones asked not about Fred Hampton's activities on behalf of poor people, but only about whether he attended church, had a good paying job, and lived at home with his parents.

Although the defendant's political beliefs are not lawfully relevant to how long a sentence he is given, Prosecutor McCee was permitted to inquire into Fred Hampton's political beliefs.

Although the minimum sentence would normally be one year for a youthful first offender found guilty of an unarmed robbery, Fred Hampton was sentenced to a minimum of two years and a maximum of five years.

VII. BAIL PENDING APPEAL

Although the law and constitution clearly allow for a defendant to be admitted to bail pending a final determination by an appellate court that his trial was legally held, Fred Hampton was denied bail.

Although judges usually consider when they are deciding whether to grant bail, the defendant's record of convictions (Fred Hampton had only a \$15 fine on his record), the defendant's past record in appearing for scheduled court dates (Fred Hampton never missed one, and he has always turned himself in, upon learning of outstanding warrants against him), the defendant's ties in the community (Fred Hampton's life and work is centered in the Chicago area), Judge Jones denied Fred Hampton bail without even inquiring into these facts.

Although Officer Nuccio who was convicted for the murder of Ronald Nelson and although all of those convicted for the murder of Jerome Huey are all walking the streets, free on bail pending the outcome of the appeal in their cases, Fred Hampton, convicted of stealing ice cream for children, is imprisoned while his appeal is pending.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

The Pigs here in Milwaukee have started showing their asses, during the past week.

On three occasions, cars containing Panther members were stopped on five motions. No arrests, just harassment.

Thirty six pigs came down on 11 Panthers and others from the community who were filling an uncovered hole in the street, the scene of three separate accidents involving young black children.

The pigs pulled maneuvers around our headquarters all night on Jan 6. At one point they knocked on the door and asked for "the leader" to come out and answer a citizen's complaint. After waiting about 5 minutes the pigs (8 car loads) drove away. We weren't prepared to deal with a vamp, but, within 20 minutes the area was

filled with brothers and sisters from all around who heard there was potential trouble. The pigs were stopping people that tried to leave the area, up to 4 blocks away. The pigs finally left the area at 2:15 a.m. The people left at 4:00 a.m.

Felix Welch, acting Field Lieutenant was arrested and, charged with disorderly conduct for attempting to organize a group of so-called radicals who were sitting in to protest the conviction of the Milwaukee 14, a group of Draft Resistance people charged with breaking into the Selective Service Center and burning draft records.

We initiated a rent strike, forcing an absentee landlord who had until now, refused to make repairs etc. When he saw our name endorsing the strike, he agreed to

make repairs, and started immediately. All power to the two sisters that dealt with it.

Since the re-organizing of the Milwaukee Branch of the Party we have tripled circulation from 600 to 1800 papers and, are looking toward 5,000 as soon as papers become more available. There is also a new community awareness about the Party and, we're forming coalitions with the Brown Berets, Chicanos and young Puerto Ricans, similar to the coalition in Chicago.

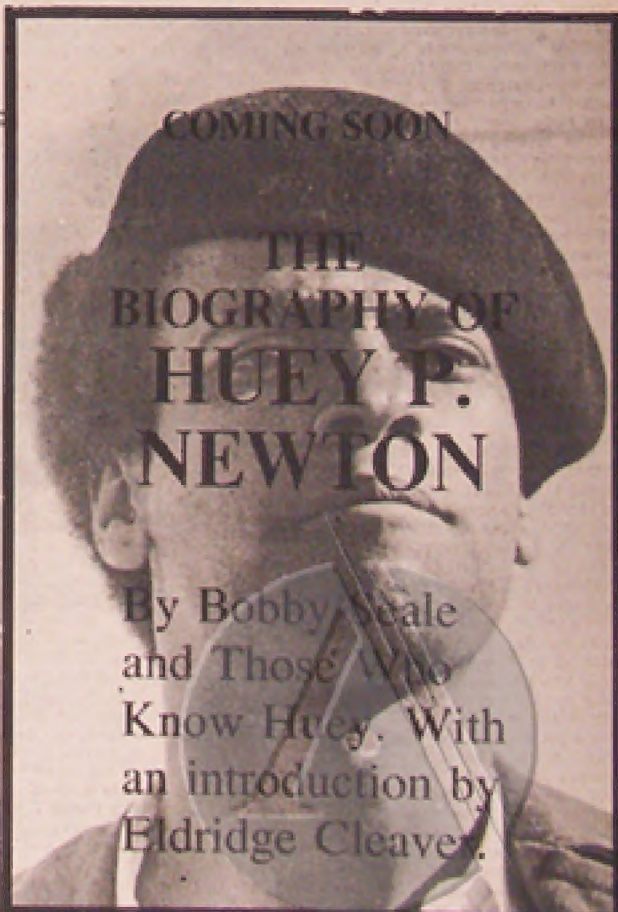
ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE
FREE HUEY
FREE ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS
WISCONSIN BPP

SAN DIEGO MURDER

At about 3:30 p.m. on May 23rd, in San Diego, California, Lt. John Ther Party was murdered by a white-washed Karangtang. A member of US organization led by Ron (Everett) Karenga. Mr. Karenga, better known as pork chop, is leading his culturalized pork chops in a futile attempt to destroy the Black Panther Party. These babu wearing baboons have struck repeatedly at the black vanguard. As a strong supporter of the Black

Panther Party, I can see no reason why these modernized house niggers have not been exterminated. We, the black masses, should rise to fight and destroy the exploiters of the black liberation struggle. We, the oppressed people of the world must unite and fight those who oppress us. We must join together in our just fight for freedom. We must fight fascism. LONG LIVE THE MINISTER OF DEFENSE

BLACK POWER TO BLACK PEOPLE
PANTHER POWER TO THE VANGUARD
ALL POWER TO THE OPPRESSED PEOPLE OF THE WORLD
OFF THE PIG
Onyango Shabazz
Supporter of the Black Panther Party
Los Angeles, California
Fascist America



COMING SOON

THE
BIOGRAPHY OF
HUEY P.
NEWTON

By Bobby Seale
and Those Who
Know Huey. With
an introduction by
Eldridge Cleaver.



Bobby Rush, Illinois Deputy Minister of Defense for the Black Panther Party, informed the Daily Defender last weekend that he had received information that the U.S. government was beginning a crackdown on the party in an effort to "exterminate" them. Since then, several party

headquarters across the country have been raided by FBI agents, including the Chicago office, and on Tuesday, 16 local party members were indicted by a grand jury.

FASCIST PIGS RELEASE ALL OUT REPRESSION AGAINST THE PEOPLE AND THE PEOPLE'S ARMY

The major indictments returned by the Cook County Grand Jury against the Black Panther Party were a concerted effort by the federal government to destroy the leadership of the people's vanguard. But like their efforts in the past, these reactionaries have proven themselves to be paper tigers. The fascist pigs have redoubled their attempts to destroy the Party since their frame-up of Deputy Chairman Fred Hampton failed to stop the Party and its programs.

The Justice Department and its agents are trying desperately to keep the truth from the people. Deputy Chairman Fred Hampton has been transferred from Stateville penitentiary to Menard penitentiary. The federal government neither notified his attorneys nor

his family of the transference June 3rd. The government still refuses to accept his motions for a new trial and appeal bond.

The midnight indictments against the sixteen Panthers were immediately followed by the issuance of arrest warrants. The attorneys were not allowed to see their clients until the bond reduction hearings and information that was necessary to support the pleas for bond reduction was withheld.

The Black Panther Party has become the target of a growing nationwide campaign to cripple its operations in Chicago and other major cities. The Justice Department in Chicago admits that there had been concerted "FBI activity and investigation" with regard to the Black Panther Party. The federal pigs have given the order to

unleash the repression against the Illinois Chapter in order to stop the mass movement and its programs to aid the oppressed peoples.

The indictments followed the arrest of 11 Panthers on Sunday, June 8th. The Panthers were stopped in their car by fascist pigs. They were ordered out, searched, and physically abused. The car was searched without a warrant. The pigs then planted marijuana in the car. The Panthers, who are forbidden to carry marijuana in their possession were later charged with possession of marijuana and released on \$1,000 bond. The pig press misled the public into believing that medical supplies that were in the car were chemicals for explosives. One sister was severely injured when the fascists

pushed her to the ground and kicked her in the back. She was pregnant and now is threatening miscarriage. In the maternity ward of the Cook County Hospital.

On June 4th at 5:00 in the morning, 500 fascist pigs cornered off a 5 block area surrounding the office. Federal marshalls, FBI agents, and local pigs armed with machine guns, heavy weapons, bullet-proof vests, and a helicopter raided the office. Eight members of the Black Panther Party were arrested and charged with "harboring a fugitive" that the pigs never found. Following the arrests, fascist wrecking crews armed with hatchets went to work to destroy the office. All equipment and fixtures were either stolen or destroyed beyond repair. Some of the money was to buy food for the

Breakfast for Children Program and the establishment of a free medical center for the people of the community. Damage to the office was estimated at \$20,000.

The federal pigs have failed once again to destroy the Party. They have only rekindled our efforts. We will surmount every obstacle placed in our path and forge close links with the masses. We will make the masses understand that "without the peoples army, the people have nothing."

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE
FREE ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS

Illinois Chapter
Black Panther Party

FASCIST PIGS ATTACK PREGNANT SISTER

power
to the people

Eleven Panthers were busted Sunday evening about 8:15 p.m., about 12 blocks from the office. Six (6) brothers and five (5) sisters left the office about 8:00 p.m. on their way to see a Chicago film concerning the Panthers. They noticed they were being followed and turned a corner to stop for a second task force and pig cars converged on the car. People in the community started to come out to find out what was going on. The people knew they were Panthers and started to attack the pigs and threatened to come out with their pieces; the pigs then moved the brothers and sisters into waiting paddy wagons and police cars before an "incident broke out". The Panthers proceeded to pass out literature while they were being arrested. The pigs said before they left the scene that the brothers and sisters would be charged with possession of chemical explosives and inciting a riot. The Panthers were then taken to the pig station where they were held for at least 5 hours before they

could find a charge to place on them. Shortly after Ann Campbell and I arrived at the pig station to get the people out, I asked the pig what the charges were and the pig told me they didn't know yet. I told the pig that they could not hold the brothers and sisters if they didn't have a charge. Ann and I immediately moved to phone the lawyers. About that time the sisters in the lock-up had started to conduct a political education class and the people in the lock-up started talking. And the pigs said they were causing confusion and said they had to be moved. I saw the pigs bringing out Andrea Graves with her hands handcuffed behind her back. They pushed her and the rest of the sisters into another room. Sandra Rich - nineteen (19) years and 3 months pregnant was walking out of the lock-up to the other room. Evidently she wasn't walking fast enough. The fascist pigs started to push her, the pig knocked her down and kicked her in the back and stomach; they

then moved her into the room and made her stay there till she was transferred later that night to the Super Fascist Pig station at 11th and State Streets. The Brothers remained at Wood Street Station. We left immediately for 11th St. Station, when we got there Sandra had been taken to Cook County Butcher Shop (hospital) for internal injuries. The sister's health was threatening miscarriage and bleeding from the kidneys. She was not allowed any visitors and was placed under guard. The next morning everyone was released on bond except Sandra; charges were as follows:

Sandra Rich - 19 years residing arrest, interfering with a pig, possession of marijuana.
Andrea Graves - 20 years residing arrest, interfering with a police officer, possession of a hypodermic and marijuana. Bond \$1,000 Cash \$100.

The sister was a licensed practical nurse and medical supplies were in the car. All the brothers

were charged with possession of marijuana and interfering with a pig's arrest.

Jesse Ward - 18
Randall Rollins - 18
Terry Watson - 20
Walter Johnson - 18
Carnell Jones - 18
Samuel Latson - 19

The charges of possession are trumped up; no one had any smoke. Andrea Graves and Jesse Ward had been arrested previously in the vamp on the office. Sandra was released after we went through a lot of bureaucratic five and sent to Columbus Hospital still threatening miscarriage. Bonds were set at \$1,000 each and a \$100 to walk.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE
Stephanie Pinner
Officer Staff
Illinois Chapter
Black Panther Party
PANTHER POWER TO THE VANGUARD

Power to the people!
Let this cry reach the highest of steeples,
Exterminate the Fascist Pigs
who exploit and capitalise,
upon the POVERTY-STRIKEN
MASS!

Power to the people!
Awake
Agitate
The CAPITALISTIC SOCIETY!
It was never meant to be,
for those in poverty!

Power to the people!
UNTIL TO REVOLUTION
The solution
to BUREAUCRATIC POLLUTION!

LONG LIVE THE PEOPLE'S PLEA
FREEDOM, JUSTICE, AND
EQUALITY!

John Young, Panther Supporter



The people of the state
of California will
not stand for this!



AN ASIDE TO RONALD REAGAN

I have never liked Ronald Reagan. Even back in the days of his bad movies - bullshit flicks that never turned me on to any glow - I felt about him the way I felt about such nonviolent cowboys as Roy Rogers and Gene Autry; that they were never going to cause any action or allow anything to happen. They were just there, occupying space and wasting my time, my money and my sanity. There was a sort of unreality in their style. One knew that movies were into a make-believe bag, but the unreality espoused on the screen by the flat souls of such Pabulum-fed actors as Reagan reflected to me - black ghetto nigger me - a sickening mixed bag of humorless laughter and perfect Colgate teeth, with never a hint of the real funk of life, insipid, promising nothing and delivering even less, a Reagan movie was nothing to get excited about. There would be no surprises.

But what happened was that Ronnie landed a TV show, equipped with opulent sponsors and some slick script writers, the mediocrity of his grade-B spirit was glossed over and concealed by the make-up of a rhetoric fashioned by a committee of crew-cut word-mongers. With all this going for him, it was natural for him to turn to politics when Hollywood's kindest make-up artists began to find it increasingly difficult to deal with the wrinkles that were slowly turning his face into a replica of well furrowed, depeted, single

crop soil.

He was in the best of states to get into his thing; California had demonstrated his ability to relate to the politics of the absurd by electing to office such blobs of political potty as Richard Nixon and Max Bafterty. And having picked the proper place, he could not have chosen a better style. Ronnie used a pat formula that said: pick the toughest problems confronting the people and launch blistering attacks upon all sincere efforts to come to grips with these problems; offer as an alternative a conglomeration of simple-minded clichés and catch phrases that go back to the Mayflower; sing the "Star-Spangled Banner" and smile broadly, effusively, as you wave the flag at the people; use a fighting "I'm fed up" form of delivery; and always remember that when nothing else works, there is still the tried and proven gambit of demagogic politicians, especially in California-viciously attack the perennial whipping boys of the American Dream: subversion concealed in the words of textbooks, the "decadence of universities and the misguided students being duped by a handful of professors who are under the subtle influence of the Communist Conspiracy".

Well, it worked. Mickey Mouse is governor and Donald Duck is a candidate for the U.S. Senate. That is what we have to worry about. And deal with.

It has been said that the people get the rulers they deserve. I do

not believe, however, that America has the rulers it deserves. The State of California, emphatically, could not deserve the rulers it has. Yet we have them, and this is an election year. And what an election year: this is the nightmare election year of the American Dream.

Everything is out in the open this year. Nobody is trying very hard to conceal anything. As usual, the key issue in the election is what to do about the niggers - only this time, the question is being rewritten to read, what to do with the niggers. From the point of view of the niggers themselves, the question has also been rewritten and now reads, what are we going to do about this shit?

A surprising development - one which offers the possibility, perhaps the only possibility, of a monkey wrench being tossed into the smoke dreams of the racists - is that a sizable portion of white Americans are in revolt against the system. So the issue of Law and Order, or Crime in the Streets, becomes key.

In California, Mickey Mouse looked out from his perch in Disneyland for an opening to get himself back into the act, having been kicked off the stage in Miami by a pig who had been in the game a little longer. From where he lurked, Mickey Mouse fixed his blank stare on the campus of the University of California, Berkeley. He had received a tip that a situation tailored to his needs existed on that campus, Eldridge Cleaver -

the apotheosis of the American nightmare: loudmouthed nigger, ex-convict, rapist, advocate of violence, Presidential candidate - was retained by the Berkeley subversives to teach a class on the university campus, i.e., to corrupt the morals of lily-white American youth. So Ronnie Baby, doing his Republican duty, emerged from his pen to take up the cudgels of battle: "If Eldridge Cleaver is allowed to teach our children, they may come home some night and slit our throats. Therefore, the people of the State of California will not stand for this!"

Right on, Mickey Mouse. There are those of us who know what you are into, and we don't like it. Furthermore, we are going to deal with it, with you, to put an end to your absurd cinking in the faces of the people. So that all those bullshit changes that you went through with the Board of Regents, forcing them to emasculate the course in which I was to participate as a guest lecturer, don't mean shit. It displeased you, I understand, that even the Board of Regents did not buy you whole hog; that, in fact, they agreed to allow me to deliver one lecture.

Big deal. Who in the fuck do you think you are, telling me that I can't talk, telling the students and faculty members at UC Berkeley that they cannot have me deliver ten lectures? I'm going to do it whether you like it or not. In fact, my desire now is to deliver twenty lectures. You, Donald Duck Raf-

ferty, Big Mama Urrah, and that admitted member of the racist John Birch Society who introduced that resolution into the legislature to censure those responsible for inviting me to lecture in the first place - all of each of you can kiss my black nigger ass, because I recognize you for what you are, racist demagogues who have their eye on the ballot box come November. The students and the faculty members at Berkeley are trying to salvage the American people from the brink of chaos that you pigs have brought on. Your thirst and greed for power is so great that you don't care whether or not in your lust you destroy the vital processes of a barbaric society that is trying in its parts to become civilized.

I don't know what the outcome of all this will be, but I do know that I, for one, will never kiss your ass, will never submit to your demagogic machinations. I think you are a cowardly, cravenhearted wretch. You are not a man. You are a punk. Since you have insulted me by calling me a racist, I would like to have the opportunity to balance the books. All I ask is a sporting chance. Therefore, Mickey Mouse, I challenge you to a duel, to the death, and you can choose the weapons. And if you can't relate to that, right on. Walk, chicken, with your ass picked clean.

Excerpts from Eldridge Cleaver
October 26, 1968

PIGS MEET PANTHERS ARRIVING IN SAN FRANCISCO

The fascist FBI pigs have instituted a new tactic of harassment of members of the Revolutionary Vanguard. Now, they have become a welcoming service at the airports. For a long time, we have been aware of pigs watching us at airports, bus and train terminals, but now, we must endure a search and interrogation before we are allowed to continue on our business.

Recently, two members of the Harlem Chapter of the Black Panther Party arrived at San Francisco International Airport and

were met with such a reception. Sister Charlene Lane and Brother Henry Mitchell, although they are two of the few members of the Party who are not being sought by the pigs, were forced to submit to the same treatment meted out to fugitives from their so called "justice". They were met, as they stepped off the passageway from the plane to the terminal by no less than 10 assorted FBI and local pigs. They were hustled into a previously prepared "interrogation room" while other travelers and

friends looked on in amazement. They were searched, forced to produce ID, and asked many personal questions by FBI pigs as ugly fascist San Francisco pigs stood by wiping dripping saliva from their mouths with one and lovingly ear-rassing 45's and .38's with the other hand. The only excuse given for these abuses was that Brother Mitchell "unfortunately" looks like someone they are looking for.

The week before, another brother from New York, Zayd-Malik Shakur, was greeted in San Fran-

cisco the same way. He, too, was told that he looked like someone they were looking for. Despite the fact that the two brothers, Minh and Zayd, look nothing alike, we are supposed to believe that, somehow, they both fit the description of this fugitive. Bullshit. We know that Trick/Dick and Hop-pis' Hoover have instructed you to keep the "heat" on the Panthers. We know that they are moving so fast that often, as in Chicago, local pigs are not allowed to participate for fear of messing up. Local pigs

are stupid.

But we also know that the reason the pigs snap on us so hard is because we have drawn a clear line of demarcation between us and them and that alone the pigs ramp on us. It is a clear indication that we are moving in the direction of our liberation.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE
PANTHER POWER TO THE VANGUARD

FREE MUEY
FREE THE NEW YORK 21
Charlene Lane

FREE ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS

[illegible]



FASCIST ACTIONS AGAINST THE PEOPLE OF SACRAMENTO

[illegible][illegible][illegible]

CHAIRMAN'S PRESS CONFERENCE AT SAFEWAY BOYCOTT

Chairman, the Safford store has refused to donate a thousand dollars a week to the Breakfast for Children Program that's just right across the street is that correct over there, so, we're starting a boycott at this store here at 27th and West in West Oakland. This store here, like most supermarkets, and chain markets, makes about \$50,000 a week off the people in the community, and they can't donate back a hundred hundred dollars to feed, educate or whatever, so, the power of the people will show this arrogant, greedy, exploiting businessmen about.

And like to say that the Breakfast for Children Program is spreading all across the country, it's significant how the attempts to suppress the Black Panther Party have been made by the power structure. There can't be no suppression, so, in every city where Black Panthers have been against the breakfast for Children Program was successful, in Chicago where the soldiers were killed and are facing a statewide grand jury, they were feeding over a thousand children and were hiding the program away. The program is exposing the power structure for what it is, the war, the Mayor Alderson, the Mayor, the King, the Mayor Daley, and the rest of the avaricious businessmen and demagogic politicians.

Question: Do you plan on spreading the boycott to other Safeway stores?

CHAIRMAN: Yes, we will spread with the people, with the power of the people. Now matter, this store here is closed down. There's a line to the shopping here for a week. The first payday right there was today here, and we hope that everywhere across the area is going to stop shopping at Safeway Stores, and we're going to keep Breakfast for Children going in the summer and free lunch too. We're going to take the youth off the streets with liberation schools from 8:00 in the morning to 12:00 in the day. We're going to teach them about the class struggle, about black history, about the class struggle in terms of black history

and we're going to give them free education and free medical, free dental and free services in the community. We feel, with the power of the people, must donate to breakfast for children and free lunch. We will serve both free breakfast and free lunch during the summer, and we will have liberation school in every church where we've had a breakfast for children program. Question: I see you have a lot of children here on the line, do you expect to have an increase later as a result of the picketing?

CHAIRMAN: The pigs know better than to be coming down here and arresting the people. The United Front Against Fascism is against pigs because the pigs will blatantly murder and kill anybody. School is out today, and some of the kids that come to the breakfast for Children Program across the street come here and wait around the parker line.

Question: Do you intend to make more negotiations with the store manager to get the \$100 for your breakfast program?

CHAIRMAN: Right now, as of today, we're going to raise the demands to \$125. Every week that he doesn't come around, we're going to raise it an extra \$25. All he has to do is come out here and tell one of these people that they can pick up the food that he's going to donate to the people's free breakfast for children program.

Question: How many kids do you feed on a day like this?

CHAIRMAN: Throughout the San Francisco Bay Area, we feed way over 2,000.

Question: How much does it cost to keep the program going per week?

CHAIRMAN: We can feed 100 kids on \$40 per week.

Question: It has been reported that the State Department has confirmed that Harbridge Cleveland is in Cuba. Do you have anything to say about that?

CHAIRMAN: I say that anybody who wants to know where Harbridge is, ought to go down there and see. We'll have to investigate the information further. The State Department has made these claims, not the Black Panther Party.



BOYCOTT SAFEWAY

The Anti-Imperialist Committee is happy to announce its complete support for the Black Panther Party's boycott of Safeway stores, exposing the unbridled greed of imperialist behavior toward working people. They are helping the grape growers of California, with whom they have close financial and personal ties, to smash the struggle of the grape workers by carrying grapes in spite of the grape boycott. A few days ago they invited representatives of the boycott committee to a meeting and

had them arrested after unilaterally "appearing" the meeting. Now they refuse to accept the Black Panther Party's program to feed hungry children in the community, to the Black Panther Party and to the Anti-Imperialist Committee, food is for courting the bodies of the people. For Safeway exploitsers of the people, on the other hand, food is a commodity on which they can make a profit, and they refuse to see it in any other way.

by their arrogant attitude toward the working people who supply

their profits, and particularly by their refusal to buy the Black Panther Party food which Safeway has ripped a boycott out of this store, let others Safeway store in the country. We urge every working Black! Don't shop at Safeway. BOYCOTT SAFEWAY! POWER TO THE PEOPLE! Bill Callahan for the Anti-Imperialist Committee Safeway Boycott Committee



SAFEWAY EMPTY AS PANTHER BOYCOTT CONTINUES

PANTHERS ON MOVE

'TO A UNITED FRONT'

by MAMU

The "Mama" (most often called just Mama) in the Black Panther Party (BPP) is the Black Panther Party's (BPP) Minister of Information. She is the one who is in charge of the BPP's public relations and is the one who is in charge of the BPP's public relations and is the one who is in charge of the BPP's public relations.

When I arrived at Black Panther Party National Headquarters to find out more about the various units against Panther officers and about the "United Front Against Fascism" conference, Mama was the one with whom I talked.

"Five units in the last four days" is the way he began, "Chicago, Detroit, Denver, Utah, and Philadelphia."

"Dad" said Mama, a bit of a surprise to his voice, "I didn't even know that we had an office in Utah but the men arrested some Panthers there."

Mama then said the proposed conference, "A United Front Against Fascism" is one of the most serious for the police relations. "Fascism" against Pantherism had become an everyday thing but since we announced the conference they've started to target us and again."

There are several reasons that the proposed conference could feel threatened by this conference, due to begin at Black Panther Headquarters on July 12. The first is the most obvious—a proposed united front to fight Fascism.

This could be a threat if the government is called as Mama says that it is, intent on becoming

fascist. From May 6, Nixon's words, "Capitalism plus racism equals Fascism", Mama moved on to explain the threat.

"The evolution of every capitalist country in the last 50 years has been towards Fascism. The Military-Industrial Complex is Fascist. The security state is the evolution of Fascism. The police are everywhere you go, in the schools, on college campuses—go down to highways and there's a pig with a big, big machine and a long stick waiting up and down supposed to be looking so that you don't steal something."

"And all that Fascism goes under the name of 'Law and Order', but if they need to, they stretch the law a little and if that don't work they'll just make a new law."

That the conference is an attempt to stem this trend is probably not much of a threat to itself. The name has an old left ring, and the idea speaks of labor and many old left rhetorical exchanges. But now it comes from the Black Panther Party—an or-

ganization with several characteristics—and the call has gone out to everyone.

The kind of the conference announcement looked to "Fascist organizations: General Workers' Political Workers' Industrial Workers' United Farmers' Tenants' People's Party, Mexican American, Puerto Rican, Chinese, etc., etc."

According to Mama, there are only three groups that will not be allowed to attend: the Ku Klux Klan's cultural nationalist group, the CIA and the FBI. But to say that the last two will be there anyway.

"There's only two requirements for attendance: first you've got to be against Fascism, second you can't be anti-communist. The scope of the Black liberation movement is too narrow, but the people have a vague understanding of what Fascism is, you see. Anybody with half a brain can relate to a struggle against Fascism."

"See, Black people have been hip to pig brutality and such for a long time, but the white people

are getting a crash course. The short, violent anti-Fascist course, if you get long hair, they shoot for your legs, if you're black they shoot for your back."

Which brings us back to the fact that this conference could hold, it could begin to consider what Mama calls "the actualization" of the Party by the media.

As Mama began to talk about this, I kept asking for the first and only time in the interview. "They keep putting those black nationalists on TV. Those apologetic fools blowing their madras, talking about looking and killing white people—hey don't represent the broad masses of Black People. The masses aren't overly racist—they're got certain phobias and paranoias about white people but they're not racist."

"What these programs do is convince the viewers that everything that happens to the people is evil. It's like in Germany—after the war the British by the Nazis."

So if everything that the Panthers want to come to the conference, to come, then this personal contact should be a lot to disrupt the media myth.

Mama's eyes ran high. "This conference is going to point to the realities, if it comes off right the ABC, CBS and the rest are going to have to work overtime to re-program the people."

One of the major things that is hoped will come out of the conference is the demand for community control of the police. The beginning of this program will be the circulation of petitions based on this demand.

Each petition will be tailored

to the community that it is to be circulated in, but they will all center on three main points:

1. The conduct and the policies of the police will be under the control of community elected neighborhood councils. 2. The councils shall have "the power to discipline officers" and 3. All police officers must live in the department they work in."

"The police don't want any of these pigs who shoot down people in Berkeley was in there in Berkeley," said Mama, emphasizing the importance of point three.

Mama sees the petitions and the proposals that they contain, as the final test. He thinks the police will harass those who try to circulate the petitions and he expects things to get much worse for the Party between now and conference time.

"Well, that's it," said Mama at the interview's end. "Social practice is the criteria of truth."

But finally the biggest threat is probably the Black Panther Party itself: a Party that sees what needs to be done and does it.

"The pigs don't think that we were a threat—you know a bunch of the Queens dogs—well, in New York City, they don't think we were a threat. But we aren't happy in uniforms or in jail, in fact the uniforms are almost totally gone—the only brothers who still wear uniforms do it because they can't afford nothing else."

"We're only interested in doing what has to be done. (Fascism) comes along with a better program, a better way of getting things done, then right now—well, you."

That's a threat. Right on.



Photo by John J. Jones

REPRINT FROM BERKELEY BARB

IRELAND OPPRESSED FIGHT BACK

Apparently tired of being pushed around by reactionaries without making any retaliation, the Ulster Civil Rights Movement has started to fight back. The rank and file have given practical evidence of their ability to struggle by routing reactionaries and armed police in several battles, succeeding in asserting control over working class areas in some cities. CP and liberal leaders of the civil rights campaign are seriously alarmed by the rising tide of rank and file militancy and the broad popular response of the masses to the call for militant action. At the time of writing the distraught "non-violent" leaders were making frantic efforts to stop street demonstrations until they re-establish control and turn the movement back to "non-violence." However the people have learned from experience that they are now able to win local battles and defend themselves against counter-revolution, so they are unlikely to respond again to calls for "non-violent" action.

A demand has been advanced for dismantling of the "Special" police. These "B Specials" consists of over 25,000 armed civilians deputized as special police and permanently on call. The force is one

hundred per cent Protestant and members of the Orange Order. Its main social composition is small businessmen and petty landowners whose conservative attitude toward property rights and fear and hatred for the working people is notorious. The "Specials" have been used exclusively against Catholic workers and the Catholic poor. It has been the good fortune of the Ulster bourgeoisie that they have never had to use the "Specials" against striking Protestant workers, for that would certainly unite Protestant and Catholic workers against them, and put an end to the "B Specials."

But even with their armed "Specials" Ulster reaction has not been able to maintain sufficient force to cope with the situation. Once again "labourite" Harold Wilson, who found it impossible to take action against Smith in Rhodesia, has answered a call for help from extreme right-wing reaction. British troops are deployed in force in Ulster for the protection of the Orange Unionist rulers. However, the development has its positive side, for the first time in almost 50 years it has made abundantly clear that the Unionist Government can exist only because it is propped up by British power—a power

which is becoming less reliable with each passing day.

The introduction of British troops into the struggle will raise some interesting problems. Wilson will want desperately to tread on "middle ground," but there is no middle ground in Ulster. The claim of the British Prime Minister that troops will be used to guard vital installations, and will not participate directly in the struggle, is patent nonsense. Even if they are restricted to guard duty—and they will not be—they are still participating by releasing armed police from this task to be used against the people. A particular problem which Wilson will face is the fact that Ulster Protestants will not welcome the introduction of British troops.

The Dublin government, which has been betraying Republican interests to the British imperialists for years, are also going to be confronted with some problems. Dublin, which claims to represent the national interests of all Ireland, is going to have to make an open declaration on its attitude toward the open armed occupation of a part of Ireland by troops of the nation's traditional imperialist enemy. Not for long will Lynch and his Ministers be

able to hide behind empty appeals to U.N. and the United Nations. The Irish people will demand more positive action in defence of Ireland's independence.

The peoples' movement in Ulster is certainly going to win some important concessions which will make for a far-reaching qualitative change in the political situation. For over 50 years Ulster reaction has been able to stay in the saddle with the use of divisive tactics. The Protestant workers have been corrupted with special consideration on jobs, housing, electoral rights, welfare benefits, etc. But when the Catholic workers win some important concessions—such as the vote in municipal elections—the privileged position of the Protestant workers will be badly eroded and it will become clear that workers, both Protestant and Catholic, have common problems which they can solve only through united action. It is possible that out of this crisis the Irish people will once more become united in the fight for a common objective, without regard for religious beliefs.

NATIONAL REVOLUTIONARY CONFERENCE

FOR A UNITED FRONT AGAINST FASCISM

OAKLAND CALIFORNIA

JULY 18, 19, 20, and 21 st.



FASCISM THE POWER OF FINANCE CAPITAL ITSELF

THIS REVOLUTIONARY CONFERENCE FOR A UNITED FRONT AGAINST FASCISM IS CALLED BY THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY.

THE FREEDOM OF ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS AND POLITICAL FREEDOM FOR ALL PROLETARIAN TYPE ORGANIZATIONS, THE FREEDOM AND POLITICAL WORK OF ALL STUDENTS, FARMER PEASANTS, WORKERS, AND THE LUMPEN MUST BE DEVELOPED INTO A NATIONAL FORCE; A FRONT WHICH HAS A COMMON REVOLUTIONARY IDEOLOGY AND POLITICAL PROGRAM WHICH ANSWERS THE BASIC DESIRES AND NEEDS OF ALL PEOPLE IN FASCIST, CAPITALIST, NAZI AMERICA. PRIMARY OBJECTIVE WILL BE COMMUNITY CONTROL OF POLICE TO END FASCISM.

IN OAKLAND CALIFORNIA, JULY 18, 19, 20 & 21st REPRESENTATIVES FROM AROUND THE COUNTRIES OF ALL ORGANIZATIONS REPRESENTING THE PEOPLE. SOME 5,000 OR MORE REPRESENTATIVES WILL DEVELOP A UNITED FRONT AGAINST FASCISM HEADQUARTERS BLACK PANTHER PARTY OFFICE, 3106 SHATTUCK AVE., BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA, 845-0103 OR 845-0101.

POWER TO THE PEOPLE
PANTHER POWER TO THE VANGUARD

October 1966

Black Panther Party Platform and Program

What We Want What We Believe



FREE HUEY

Minister of Defense, Black Panther Party

1. We want freedom. We want power to determine the destiny of our Black Community.

We believe that black people will not be free until we are able to determine our destiny.

2. We want full employment for our people.

We believe that the federal government is responsible and obligated to give every man employment or a guaranteed income. We believe that if the white American businessmen will not give full employment, then the means of production should be taken from the businessmen and placed in the community so that the people of the community can organize and employ all of its people and give a high standard of living.

3. We want an end to the robbery by the white man of our Black Community.

We believe that this racist government has robbed us and now we are demanding the overdue debt of forty acres and two mules. Forty acres and two mules was promised 100 years ago as restitution for slave labor and mass murder of black people. We will accept the payment in currency which will be distributed to our many communities. The Germans are now aiding the Jews in Israel for the genocide of the Jewish people. The Germans murdered six million Jews. The American racist has taken part in the slaughter of over fifty million black people; therefore, we feel that this is a modest demand that we make.

4. We want decent housing, fit for shelter of human beings.

We believe that if the white landlords will not give decent housing to our black community, then the housing and the land should be made into cooperatives so that our community, with government aid, can build and make decent housing for its people.

5. We want education for our people that exposes the true nature of this decadent American society. We want education that teaches us our true history and our role in the present-day society.

We believe in an educational system that will give to our people a knowledge of self. If a man does not have knowledge of himself and his position in society and the world, then he has little chance to relate to anything else.

6. We want all black men to be exempt from military service.

We believe that Black people should not be forced to fight in the military service to defend a racist government that does not protect us. We will not fight and kill other people of color in the world who, like black people, are being victimized by the white racist government of America. We will protect ourselves from the force and violence of the racist police and the racist military, by whatever means necessary.

7. We want an immediate end to POLICE BRUTALITY and MURDER of black people.

We believe we can end police brutality in our black community by organizing black self-defense groups that are dedicated to defending our black community from racist police oppression and brutality. The Second Amendment to the Constitution of the United States gives a right to bear arms. We therefore believe that all black people should arm themselves for self-defense.

8. We want freedom for all black men held in federal, state, county and city prisons and jails.

We believe that all black people should be released from the many jails and prisons because they have not received a fair and impartial trial.

9. We want all black people when brought to trial to be tried in court by a jury of their peer group or people from their black communities, as defined by the Constitution of the United States.

We believe that the courts should follow the United States Constitution so that black people will receive fair trials. The 14th Amendment of the U.S. Constitution gives a man a right to be tried by his peer group. A peer is a person from a similar economic, social, religious, geographical, environmental, historical and racial background. To do this the court will be forced to select a jury from the black community from which the black defendant came. We have been, and are being tried by all-white juries that have no understanding of the "average reasoning man" of the black community.

10. We want land, bread, housing, education, clothing, justice and peace. And as our major political objective, a United Nations-supervised plebiscite to be held throughout the black colony in which only black colonial subjects will be allowed to participate, for the purpose of determining the will of black people as to their national destiny.

When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and, accordingly, all experience hath shown, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But, when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security.



SOUL ON ICE?

"IT IS ONLY A MATTER OF TIME UNTIL THE QUESTION OF THE PRISONER'S DEBT TO SOCIETY VERSUS SOCIETY'S DEBT TO THE

PRISONER IS INJECTED FORCEFULLY INTO NATIONAL AND STATE POLITICS, INTO THE CIVIL AND HUMAN RIGHTS STRUGGLE, AND INTO THE CONSCIOUSNESS OF THE BODY POLITIC. IT IS AN EXPLOSIVE ISSUE WHICH GOES TO THE VERY ROOT OF AMERICA'S SYSTEM OF JUSTICE, THE STRUCTURE OF CRIMINAL LAW, THE PREVAILING BELIEFS AND ATTITUDES TOWARD A CONVICTED FELON." (SOUL ON ICE, P.59)

Eldridge Cleaver made the decision to politically exile himself November 27th, on the basis that the Adult Authority made an outlaw decision, and that he has been denied his constitutional right to due process of law.

The revocation of Cleaver's parole was illegal, because no parole violation was committed.

The Adult Authority parole board has tried to maintain that Cleaver violated his parole by having a rifle in his possession, and by associating with individuals of bad reputation. This contention, we will show, is false. The Adult Authority version contradicts the Superior Court order itself:

"... Cleaver's only handling of a firearm (the rifle) was in obedience to a police command. He did not handle a hand gun at all. There was nothing one way or the other to show a conspiracy or a situation calling for the application of the doctrine of aiding and abetting. Hence, nothing supported either the possession of a firearm or the assault charge.

As to the charge of association with individuals of bad reputation, the report indicated that two or three of those named had "police records," but nothing to show whether any had been convicted of anything, or whether Cleaver knew of their arrest record." (Superior Court c.t. 137, 138, 140, 141.)

Parolee Cleaver was denied due process of law by being denied opportunity to present his case.

Why was Cleaver returned to prison as a parole violator if documented evidence to the contrary had been presented in his defense? To answer that question, one must examine the Adult Authority. This board has the right to arbitrarily revoke or suspend parole on any individual. At the same time, the Adult Authority maintains—falsely—that Cleaver has the opportunity to defend himself at a hearing. This is how it works:

"A parolee is served with violation charges, is interviewed, is given a hearing (before the Adult Authority itself, the charging party) at which the parolee may 'plead' to the parole violation charges, and is afforded an opportunity to present his defense."

"At the 'hearing' a parolee is denied the right to counsel, may not have an independent and impartial officer to conduct the hearing and make decision." (Petition for Hearing in the Supreme Court, p. 17)

Not only does the Adult Authority hold secret hearings, but it also refuses to notify persons under its jurisdiction of its procedures, or of its variable definitions of what constitutes a parole violation. This secrecy and vagueness is in direct violation of federal law which requires agencies to publish their procedures "for guidance of the public."

"Petitioner (Cleaver) is immediately and seriously prejudiced by the Adult Authority's unlawful refusal to publish its regulations, since he is to be imprisoned by virtue of an action which the Adult Authority still seeks to gush in this 'veil of secrecy.'" (Petition for Hearing in the Supreme Court, p. 12)

Yes, the Adult Authority acted unjustly and illegally. Its decision was an outlaw decision. Cleaver had no chance of obtaining "justice" from these Star Chamber proceedings. Why then wouldn't the U.S. Supreme Court hear Cleaver's case? There are, we believe, three reasons why the case wasn't accepted. The first is that any fair minded court would obviously have released Cleaver, thereby setting a precedent. The second is that thousands of cases of alleged parole violation from all over California and other states would be subject to reversal. Thirdly, the illegal functioning of the Adult Authority would come under attack. The U.S. Supreme Court just couldn't afford to consider the Cleaver case during this turbulent period.

Eldridge Cleaver is a victim of naked, shameless political persecution. As Judge Shurwin puts it:

"... The uncontradicted evidence presented to this court indicated that the petitioner had been a model parolee. The peril to his parole status stemmed from no failure of personal rehabilitation, but from his undue eloquence in pursuing political goals, goals which were offensive to many of

his contemporaries. Not only was there absence of cause for the cancellation of parole, it was the product of a type of pressure unbecoming, to say the least, to the law enforcement paraphernalia of this state."

Cleaver is in political exile because a man of his convictions cannot get justice here. Indeed, if we are to give more than lip service to the concepts of freedom and justice we must support him. The work to get him discharged from parole must continue. An intense publicity campaign is necessary now to bring to the public the legal defense and arguments which were carried to the courts with no satisfaction. We must all work together to focus attention of this case. This is not an issue of one man's freedom, but a broad struggle which affirms the right of all of us to speak out politically in this country. If Cleaver is not allowed his freedom, it is just a matter of time until all our freedoms are further reduced. His is not a personal struggle but a political one.

SPONSORS

WRITERS

Richard Russell
James Baldwin
Murray Kempton
Allen Ginsberg
Herbert Gold
Ray Boyle
Oscar Lewis
Terry Southern
Norman Mailer
LeRoi Jones
Lawrence Ferlinghetti
Andrew Kopkind
Dwight Mac Donald
Donald Duncan
Barbara Garrison
Maxwell Geismar
John Gassner
John Gunther
Paul Jacobs
Jessica Mitton
Richard Gorman
Folles Lender
Robert Creeley
D. W. Gregory
Edgar Friedberg
Marcus Raskin
W.H. Ferry
Jack Newfield
Neil Hennessey
Susan Sontag
Robert Lowell
Jane Jacobs
Marjorie Calisher
Harvey O'Connor
Truman Nelson
Charles V. Hamilton
Stanley Kunitz
Stanley Kaufman

LABOR

Jim Lennon
Solomon Lane
PROFESSIONALS
Hans Koenigsmeyer
Ashley Montagu
Conor Cruise O'Brien
Douglas F. Gould
D.F. Fleming
C. Wade Savage
Donald Kalish
Howard S. Becker
Maurice Zeitler
Solomon M. Peck
Norman Chinsky
Richard Lichtenman
J.R. Neilsen
Morgan F. Firth
William Lindner
Stephen Smale
Donald B. McLeod
Cyril Epstein
Roger Dorman
A.K. Berman
O. Revankar
Madeline Robertson
Laurent Schwartz
A. School
Stephen L. ynd
Merrill
David Anson
POLITICS
Kris Lopez Tijerina
Jesse Gray
Floyd McKissick
James Forman
Julian Bond
Tom Hayden

Maria Jones
Doris Berger
John Fanning
Mrs. Betty Shabazz
Stokely Carmichael
Carl Oglesby
Hart Tarr
Len Hall
Mad Hatter
Paul Haherth
Sherwin A. Shyne
Eugene Delmon
M. LaFon Voon
M.R. Flaxson Stabe
Gerald Hahn
John Thorne
PHYSICIANS
Oscar Ramirez, M.D.
Philip Shapiro, M.D.
Carlton Goodlett, M.D.
Robert E. Greenberg, M.D.
EDUCATORS
Angus Cameron
Erving Berlin
Arthur Wang
Earl on Asher
Joe Fox
Richard Hertz
J.R. Talbot
Marilyn Mosker
Leo Hahern, Jr.
Corey McWilliams
Robert Silver
John J. Simon
Theodore Solotaroff
POLITICAL PRISONER
RUEY NEWTON

INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE TO DEFEND ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

I would like to join the efforts of all those who are working to defend Eldridge Cleaver from political persecution.

Please add my name to the list of sponsors of the International Committee to Defend Eldridge Cleaver.

I enclose _____ to assist the legal expenses and the Committee's campaign to publicize and promote Eldridge Cleaver's defense.

I can volunteer some time to help the Committee

Name _____ Date _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Profession _____ Organization or Title _____

ICDEC, 405 Beach Street, San Francisco, Calif. 94133

Robert Scheer, Director

SUBSCRIPTION FORM



Support
Your
Newspaper—
Subscribe
Today!

Enter my subscription for (check box)

	National Subscriptions	Foreign Subscriptions
3 MONTHS: (13 ISSUES)	<input type="checkbox"/> \$2.50	<input type="checkbox"/> \$3.00
6 MONTHS: (26 ISSUES)	<input type="checkbox"/> \$5.00	<input type="checkbox"/> \$6.00
ONE YEAR: (52 ISSUES)	<input type="checkbox"/> \$7.50	<input type="checkbox"/> \$9.00

(please print)

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____

STATE/ZIP # _____

COUNTRY _____

PLEASE MAIL CHECK
OR MONEY ORDER TO:MINISTRY OF INFORMATION, BLACK PANTHER PARTY,
Box 2967, Custom House, San Francisco, CA 94126

THE BLACK PANTHER

BLACK COMMUNITY NEWS SERVICE
PUBLISHED WEEKLY BY THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

EDITORIAL STAFF OF THE BLACK PANTHER

Political Prisoner:
Minister of Defense
HUEY NEWTON

Chairman
BOBBY SEALE

Editor
Minister of Information
ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

Managing Editor
Deputy Minister of Information
BIG MAN

Revolutionary Artist
and Lay-out
Minister of Culture
EMORY DOUGLAS

Production
Manager
JOHN SEALE

Co-Editors

Distribution Manager
ANDREW AUSTIN

Circulation
SAM NAYLER

CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

Minister of Defense
HUEY P. NEWTON

Chairman
BOBBY SEALE

Minister of Information
ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

Chief of Staff
DAVID HILLARD

Field Marshals
UNDERGROUND

Minister of Education
GEORGE MURRAY

Minister of Finance

Minister of Foreign Affairs

Minister of Justice

Prime Minister

Communications Secretary
KATHLEEN CLEAVER

Minister of Culture
EMORY DOUGLAS

The editorial and production cost of THE BLACK PANTHER Newspaper have increased considerably. We would like to continue increasing weekly circulation and our national and international news coverage. To do this we need your aid. Please send us news items, general information, and contributions. Help us distribute and get new subscriptions to The Black Panther newspaper. Submit to:

BLACK PANTHER NEWSPAPER
3106 SHATTUCK AVE.
BERKELEY, CALIF.

RULES OF THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

CENTRAL HEADQUARTERS
OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA..

Every member of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY throughout this country of racist America must abide by these rules as functional members of this party. CENTRAL COMMITTEE members, CENTRAL STAFFS, and LOCAL STAFFS, including all captains subordinate to either national, state, and local leadership of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY will enforce these rules. Length of suspension or other disciplinary action necessary for violation of these rules will depend on national decisions by national, state or state area, and local committees and staffs where said rule or rules of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY WERE VIOLATED.

Every member of the party must know these verbatim by heart. And apply them daily. Each member must report any violation of these rules to their leadership or they are counter-revolutionary and are also subjected to suspension by the BLACK PANTHER PARTY.

THE RULES ARE:

1. No party member can have narcotics or weed in his possession while doing party work.
2. Any party member found shooting narcotics will be expelled from this party.
3. No party member can be DRUNK while doing daily party work.
4. No party member will violate rules relating to office work, general meetings of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY, and meetings of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY ANYWHERE.
5. No party member will USE, POINT, or FIRE a weapon of any kind unnecessarily or accidentally at anyone.
6. No party member can join any other army force other than the BLACK LIBERATION ARMY.
7. No party member can have a weapon in his possession while DRUNK or loaded off narcotics or weed.
8. No party member will commit any crimes against other party members or BLACK people at all, and cannot steal or take from the people, not even a needle or a piece of thread.
9. When arrested BLACK PANTHER MEMBERS will give only name, address, and will sign nothing. Legal first aid must be understood by all Party members.
10. The Ten Point Program and platform of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY must be known and understood by each Party member.
11. Party Communications must be National and Local.
12. The 10-10-10-program should be known by all members and also understood by all members.
13. All Finance officers will operate under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Finance.
14. Each person will submit a report of daily work.
15. Each Sub-Section Leader, Section Leader, Lieutenant, and Captain must submit Daily reports of work.
16. All Panthers must learn to operate and service weapons correctly.
17. All Leadership personnel who expel a member must submit this information to the Editor of the Newspaper, so that it will be published in the paper and will be known by all chapters and branches.
18. Political Education Classes are mandatory for general membership.
19. Daily office personnel assigned to respective offices each day should be there. All others are to sell papers and do Political work out in the community, including Captains, Section Leaders, etc.
20. COMMUNICATIONS — all chapters must submit weekly reports in writing to the National Headquarters.
21. All Branches must implement First Aid and/or Medical Cadres.
22. All Chapters, Branches, and components of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY must submit a monthly Financial Report to the Ministry of Finance, and also the Central Committee.
23. Everyone in a leadership position must read no less than two hours per day to keep abreast of the changing political situation.
24. No chapter or branch shall accept grants, poverty funds, money or any other aid from any government agency without contacting the National Headquarters.
25. All chapters must adhere to the policy and the ideology laid down by the CENTRAL COMMITTEE of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY.
26. All Branches must submit weekly reports in writing to their respective Chapters.

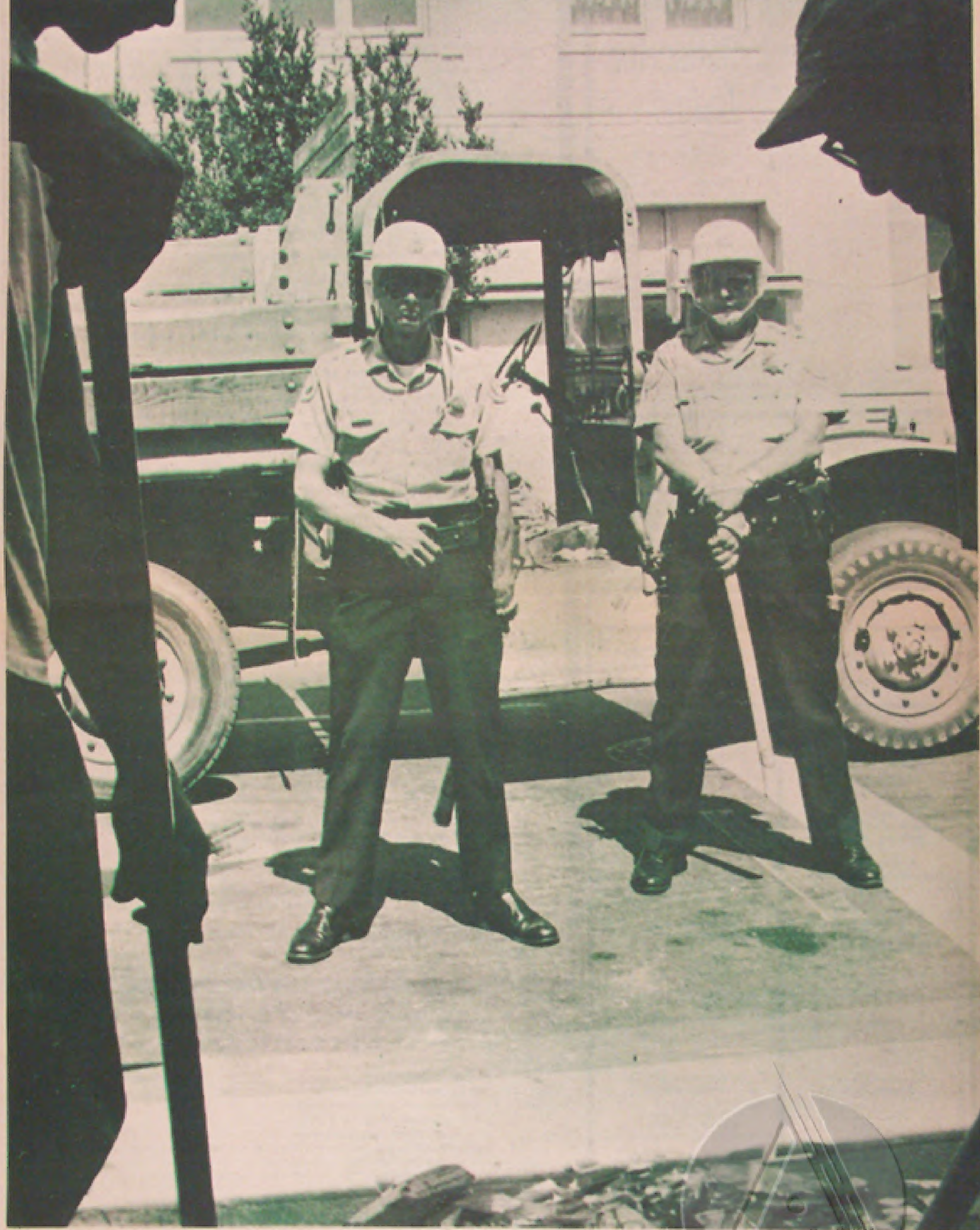
8 POINTS OF ATTENTION

- 1) Speak politely.
- 2) Pay fairly for what you buy.
- 3) Return everything you borrow.
- 4) Pay for anything you damage.
- 5) Do not hit or swear at people.
- 6) Do not damage property or crops of the poor, oppressed masses.
- 7) Do not take liberties with women.
- 8) If we ever have to take captives do not ill-treat them.

3 MAIN RULES OF DISCIPLINE

- 1) Obey orders in all your actions.
- 2) Do not take a single needle or a piece of thread from the poor and oppressed masses.
- 3) Turn in everything captured from the attacking enemy.

FASCISM



THE POWER OF FINANCE CAPITAL